Africa Digest

APRIL 1961

Volume VIII No. 5 Annual Subscription Twenty-five Shillings

CONTENTS

CENTRAL AFRICA — PAGE

CONGO—Congo Diary IV: United Nations on the Congo Question — 173, 174
RUANDA URUNDI—Elections and Constitutional Change — 175
NYASALAND—Election Preparations: Sedition Conviction: Emigrants for the Mines: Peace and Calm: New Party — 176, 176
RHODESIA, NORTHERN—Constitutional Conference and Proposals: Sir Roy Welensky's Attitude on Territorial Constitution: Comment in Britain: Commons Debate: Lords Debate: Further Comment: Liberals Become Ministers: Assurance to Civil Servants: Unions Re-unite — 177, 178, 179, 181, 184
RHODESIA, SOUTHERN—Constitutional Conference Report: Detainees: Thirst for Education: Housing Problems: Sedition Acquittal — 185, 188, 188
RHODESIA AND NYASALAND—New High Commissioner: Defence and Security — 188, 188

EAST AFRICA

The Raisman Commission — 189
ETHIOPIA—Awash Valley Development Plan — 189
KENYA—Election Results: K.A.N.U. Divisions: Jomo Kenyatta: Financial Crisis: Education — 190, 191
SOMALI REPUBLIC—Border Incidents — 193
SUDAN—Economic Development: University and Government — 193, 194
TANGANYIKA—Overseas Aid: World Bank Mission: Education — 194, 195
UGANDA—Buganda's Future: The Elections: Boycott of Non-African Traders — 195, 196
ZANZIBAR—Coalition Government — 196

SOUTHERN AFRICA

HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES—Basuto Congress Split: Basuto Congress Demand: Refugees in Basutoland: Bechuanaland People's Party: R.S.T. Plans for Bechuanaland: Development of Bechuanaland Swamp: Swazi Students' Views: Economic Survey of Swaziland — 196, 197, 197, 197, 197

PAGE

SOUTH AFRICA, UNION OF—Leaving the Commonwealth: For and Against Commonwealth Membership: Debate on Constitution Bill: Censorship Bill Dropped: Coloured Affairs: Effect of Boycotts: America Corporation Sells Out: Sharpeville, Langa and Cato Manor: Pondoland and Tembuland: Apartheid: Alexandra Township Threatened: Convention Movement: Dutch Reformed Church Controversy: Bishop's Resignation: Mr. Hammarskjoeld's Visit: Opposing Apartheid in 1961 — 199, 199, 203, 203, 203, 204, 206, 207, 207
SOUTH WEST AFRICA—At the United Nations: International Issue and the Election: Herero Journalists Escape — 208, 208

WEST AFRICA

ANGOLA—Disturbances — 209
CAMEROONS, BRITISH—Plebiscites in North and South — 209
GHANA—Financial Policy: Purchase of Gold Mines: Developments on Volta Project: Foreign Policy: President Nkrumah and the C.P.P.: Co-operative Party Official Expelled — 210, 210, 211, 211
GUINEA—Electricity Nationalized: Trade with the West: Private Trading — 211, 212
MALI—Foreign Aid — 212
NIGERIA—Demands for Constitutional Change: United States Aid: Development, Aid and Projects: West Nigeria Seeks to Preserve Chieftancy: Education at Home and Overseas — 212, 212, 213, 213
SIERRA LEONE—Preparations for Independence: No Nationalization of Industry — 213, 213
TOGO—Electoral Law — 213

PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

P.A.F.M.E.C.A. Conference — 213

GENERAL

The Stirring of Portuguese Africa: Russia and Africa — 214

Published by the Africa Publications Trust

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1. (Tate Gallery 0701)

TRUSTEES: *Lord Hemingford, Mrs. J. Grimond, Mr. Colin Legum, The Rev. Michael Scott.*
SECRETARY: *Miss Jane Symonds.*

AFRICA DIGEST

VOL. VIII No. 5 (Covering events to March 24, 1961)

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION
£1. 5s. 0d.
(*Cheques payable to Africa Bureau, please*)

CENTRAL AFRICA

Congo

Congo Diary—IV

January 17. Four hundred Baluba tribesmen repulsed by United Nations troops near Luena.

January 19. Katanga Government announced it would not receive the United Nations conciliation commission.

January 20. United Nations protested to pro-Lumumba forces controlling Orientale when twelve Belgians were arrested. Thirty-eight Whites reported to have been arrested and beaten in Stanleyville.

January 21. Foreign Minister, Justin Bomboko, announced Lumumba would be tried for incitement to murder. Gilbert Pongo, the former security chief of Colonel Mobutu, executed by firing squad in Stanleyville for his part in the attempted invasion of Kivu on New Year's Day.

January 22. United Nations troops withdrew from Luena because they were unable to stop fighting between Katanga *gendarmerie* and Baluba rebels. United Nations conciliation commission held informal talks with Tshombe. Afro-Asian Solidarity Council invited Governments which have decided to withdraw troops from the Congo to place them at the disposal of the "legitimate Government in Stanleyville". It appealed to Afro-Asian Governments to send volunteers and arms.

January 23. Mobutu promoted to the rank of Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of Congolese forces by Kasavubu. United Arab Republic formally asked Hammarskjoeld to arrange for withdrawal of its 520 troops serving with United Nations Command.

January 24. Morocco decided to withdraw troops. India said to be considering request from Hammarskjoeld to send combat troops. Hammarskjoeld asked Kasavubu to remove Lumumba from Katanga saying United Nations Advisory Committee believed negotiations impossible amongst political leaders while detentions lasted.

January 25. Increased attacks by raiders reported in Kivu who claimed to be Lumumba supporters but who, United Nations representative said, took orders from no one. Hammarskjoeld appealed to Gizenga, former deputy to Lumumba, to ensure the safety of individuals in Orientale where he has control. Kasavubu opened Leopoldville conference in preparation for wider constitutional conference to give autonomy to provinces.

January 26. Hammarskjoeld warned that withdrawal of troops might mean disbanding of whole United Nations force.

January 27. United States Consuls advised missionaries in Kasai and Orientale to leave.

January 28. Belgian Government took action to hinder recruiting for Katanga army in Brussels.

January 29. Mobutu troops reported within 110 miles of Stanleyville, which is held by supporters of Lumumba.

January 30. Katanga planes alleged to have bombed Manono, where Lumumbist troops were entrenched within borders of Katanga. New discussions reported between Tshombe and Albert Kalonji, of South Kasai.

January 31. General Rikhye, military adviser, said withdrawal of more than 5,000 U.A.R., Guinean, Moroccan, and Indonesian troops would make the United Nations force "largely ineffective". United Nations made strong protest to Tshombe about bombing of Manono.

February 2. Hammarskjoeld asked Security Council for power to keep the Congolese army out of politics. Tshombe said: "He's mad if he thinks he can force any Congolese army to disarm." Kalonji formed common front with Tshombe against Lumumbists in Stanleyville.

February 7. South African technicians and pilots recruited for Katanga Air Force. Kasavubu met Belgian Government official but declined meeting with United Nations Conciliation Commission to whom he had repeatedly avoided giving permission to visit Lumumba. Rumours that Lumumba had died began to grow. Mobutu troops sent to Bumba apparently to prepare for new attack on Stanleyville some 300 miles away.

February 9. New Congo Government formed. The college of twenty-five commissioners who had headed Administration since September dismissed with thanks for "heroic work". Prime Minister is Joseph Ileo. Deputy Prime Minister, Jean Bolikango, who stood unsuccessfully for presidency against Kasavubu. Minister of Interior, Cyrille Adoulla (trade union leader from Equateur); of Economic Affairs, Pierre Dericoyard; Agriculture, Francoise Mopipi; Finance, Nkayi Pascal. Bomboko remains Foreign Minister.

February 11. Lumumba's escape reported by Katanga Government, but widely disbelieved. Malaya said it would double its troop contribution to United Nations force.

February 12. United Nations representative R. Dayal protested to Tshombe against "genocidal elements" in offensive against Baluba, N. Katanga. Tshombe claimed, in clearing railway line of Baluba rebels, to have done "in a couple of days what the United Nations was unable to do in weeks".

February 13. Lumumba's death reported. Katanga Government said he was murdered by tribesmen in Kolwezi. With him Mpolo and Okito had also died. The village would receive the 400,000 francs (£2,857) reward.

February 14. Further advance of Katanga forces along Elizabethville–Kasai railway. Leaders appeal in Orientale to refrain from violence following Lumumba's death. Kivu said to be in state of total anarchy. Gizenga in Stanleyville repeated his claim to be rightful Government. Tshombe refused to co-operate with United Nations inquiry into the killing of Lumumba.

February 15. Europeans living in Lumumbist strongholds of Stanleyville and Bukavu locked themselves in their homes as a precaution against reprisals. Belgian shot dead and Portuguese wounded in Luluabourg after refusing to voice opinion about Lumumba's death. Five Europeans arrested in Bukavu but quickly released again. Stanleyville administration appealed for calm. Belgian Embassies in many capitals attacked; in Cairo the building was ransacked.

February 16. French Fouga Magister jet training planes for Katanga Air Force arrived. Katanga Government described delivery a "terrible mistake". United Nations conciliation commission recommended the acceptance of Kasavubu-Ileo provisional Government, not of the Stanleyville régime of Gizenga. Twelve Europeans reported to have been arrested and beaten at Kalima. After release they took refuge with Malayan United Nations troops.

February 17. Katanga troops advancing north through Baluba territory met first strong resistance from Lumumbist forces. Two Roman Catholic missions attacked in Bukavu. A priest was killed. Ten other priests and nuns sought United Nations protection.

February 18. Sudan refused to allow arms for Stanleyville to be landed at Port Sudan.

Dr. Nkrumah advocated new United Nations command, which must be African; disarming of Congolese; expulsion of Non-African personnel in Congo army; release of political prisoners, and temporary removal of diplomatic representatives.

February 20. Kashamura, Lumumbist leader in Kivu, sought United Nations protection after Stanleyville troops attempted his arrest. Kashamura had ordered arrest of Christophe Gbenye of Stanleyville Government, who also sought United Nations protection.

Dr. Nkrumah announced that Lumumba had been murdered on January 18, together with Mpolo and Okito. He had been shot by a Belgian officer. Seven Lumumba supporters were reported shot in South Kasai.

February 21. New resolution adopted by United Nations.[1]

February 22. Ileo said army would defend itself if the United Nations tried to disarm it. Report of fifteen anti-Lumumbist political prisoners executed in Stanleyville.

February 24. Central Bank of the Congo established under governorship of Albert Ndele, a former member of College of Commissioners.

February 27. Kasavubu ordered military mobilization after an outbreak of violence and rape by Congolese soldiers in Leopoldville. Mr. Dayal said that the United Nations "would not tolerate such disgraceful behaviour towards United Nations personnel, civil or military".

February 28. In Stanleyville three Czech, one Polish, and one Russian journalist were obliged to leave "in a hurry" after a minor official of the régime had declared that their countries did not send any help at all. Military and political alliance to prevent the establishment of a "régime of tyranny" signed by Tshombe (Katanga), Ileo (Central Government), and Albert Kalonji (South Kasai).

March 2. India agreed to provide about 3,000 combat troops for duty in the United Nations forces. Liberia offered an additional 230 troops. Collapse of all administration in Kivu. Attempts to evacuate Europeans unsuccessful.

March 4. Clash between Tunisian United Nations troops and Congolese.

March 5. Nine Canadians and seven Sudanese soldiers of the United Nations force presumed captured in renewed fighting at port of Matadi. Three Sudanese reported seriously wounded. United Nations rejected Congolese demand that it should withdraw from Leopoldville airport.

Congolese leaders gathered in Madagascar for "peace conference".

March 6. United Nations lost control of ports Matadi and Banana.

March 8. Deadlock reached in United Nations discussions with Congo Government. Congolese demanded control of United Nations flights. Pilots for troop and supply planes would have to be applied for from Government; strategic points would be under joint command, and United Nations troops would be forbidden to carry arms off duty and outside barracks. Six hundred Tunisian troops arrived.

Talks opened in Madagascar by Tshombe. Other leaders present were Kasavubu, Ileo, Kalonji, and Kamitatu, of the Leopoldville provincial Government. Gizenga was absent.

[1]See below: "United Nations on the Congo Question".

March 11. General improvement in United Nations-Congo relations. Four thousand more troops promised for United Nations force and apparent agreement reached on control of ports. Mr. Mekki Abbas appointed acting special representative of United Nations in absence of Mr. Dayal in New York.

March 12. Madagascar conference reached unanimous decision to form confederation of Congolese States with Kasavubu as first President.

Internal and foreign policy would be in hands of a council of States, comprised of the central President and the Presidents of member States. Co-ordinating body between the States "would carry out the decisions of the Council".

The conference sent a telegram to the United Nations General Assembly and to Hammarskjoeld, demanding annulment of the Security Council resolution of February 21.

March 13. Congolese Government agreed in principle to return of limited number of United Nations troops to Matadi. They must be Europeans. Armed occupation of Matadi is considered essential to whole United Nations operation. Congolese officer and N.C.O. taken prisoner on March 2 by Tunisian contingent, apparently as retaliation against seizure of a Tunisian lieutenant by Congolese, were released on orders from Hammarskjoeld.

March 15. Approach reported by General Lundula (Stanleyville) to Ileo seeking reconciliation. But Gizenga apparently still real power in Stanleyville and opposed to treating with Ileo's Government.

March 19. Reports of renewed disorders in Luluabourg, North Kasai. Four ministers of Central Government flew there in attempt to restore order.

March 20. Kasavubu reported as saying United Nations should withdraw its arms and leave Congo to solve its own problems. Civilian and economic help and food supplies still required.

United Nations on the Congo Question

After prolonged debate the Security Council adopted a resolution on February 21, which was sponsored by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic:

> Urging that the United Nations take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including the use of force if necessary, in the last resort.
>
> Urging further that measures be taken for the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations command, and mercenaries.
>
> Calling upon all states to take immediate measures to prevent the departure of such personnel for the Congo from their territories and to deny them transit and other facilities.
>
> Deciding that an immediate, impartial investigation be held to ascertain the circumstances of the death of M. Lumumba and his colleagues and that the perpetrators of these crimes be punished.
>
> Reaffirming the previous resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly and reminding all states of their obligations under these resolutions.
>
> Urging the convening of the Congolese Parliament and the taking of necessary protective measures to that end.
>
> Urging further that Congolese armed units and personnel be reorganized and brought under discipline and control; and that arrangements be made to eliminate possibility of interference by such units and personnel in the political life of the Congo.
>
> And calling upon all states to extend their measures as might be necessary on their part to implement this resolution.

The Council considered two other resolutions which it rejected. The first, a Soviet resolution, demanded the end of the operation in the Congo within a month and the dismissal of the Secretary-General. This was rejected by a vote of one in favour (the U.S.S.R.) to eight against, with Ceylon and the U.A.R. abstaining.

The second resolution by Ceylon, Liberia and the U.A.R. voiced strong condemnation of "unlawful arrests, deportations and assassinations of political leaders of the Congo", and called for measures to prevent these "outrages" and for an impartial investigation to determine responsibility and decide on punishment for the perpetrators. This was rejected by a vote of six in favour (Ceylon, Chile, Ecuador, Liberia, the U.A.R. and the U.S.S.R.), none against and five abstentions (China, France, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States). United States amendments which would have altered the wording of the resolution so that it did not refer only to atrocities and assassinations in specific parts of the Congo—"Leopoldville, Katanga and South Kasai"—were rejected because of the negative vote of the Soviet Union.

Mr. Hammarskjoeld welcomed the resolution which was adopted. He said that it gave "a stronger and more clear framework for United Nations action". He added that "as so often before" the resolution did not provide "a wider legal basis or new means for implementations". He noted the need to strengthen the United Nations force in the Congo, in view of the added duties assigned to it under the resolution. He was certain, he said, that nations supporting the force would realize that it would need strengthening "by further generous contributions from their side".

Support for Mr. Hammarskjoeld was voiced by the representatives of a number of African countries, such as Madagascar, Gabon, Senegal, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Nigeria and Liberia. George Padmore of Liberia told the Council that according to those African countries which had been in touch with him "it is the overwhelming opinion that the office of the Secretary-General should remain as it is and that Mr. Hammarskjoeld should be given even more authority to bring peace and order to the Congo".

Some speakers, such as the representatives of Ceylon and India, emphasized that blame for the adverse happenings in the Congo rested with the United Nations as a whole, and with the failure to give the Secretary-General a satisfactory mandate. C. S. Jha of India blamed "cold war approaches" and "wrong or inadequate decisions of the Security Council or the General Assembly". Other speakers, however, including the representatives of Guinea and Mali, voiced agreement with the U.S.S.R.'s demands and said they no longer had any confidence in Mr. Hammarskjoeld.

The Secretary-General himself, in his statement at the end of the debate, observed among other things that some of the "accusations" against him appeared to imply that he should have ordered the United Nations force to take military action to liberate M. Lumumba from custody in Katanga Province, where he was detained prior to his escape and subsequent assassination. The Secretary-General emphasized, however, that this would have constituted "a clear departure" from his own mandate and from its framework under the terms of the United Nations Charter.

In the course of the discussion, Mr. Padmore of Liberia proposed that the Council should hold its next series of meetings in the Congo, or in any near-by country which invited it. The purpose would be to meet political leaders with a view to establishing the prestige and authority of the United Nations as well as reaching some point of reconciliation in the country.

The proposal was supported by both Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Zorin. Mr. Stevenson indicated that the U.S. Air Force might be able to help in arranging transportation. (*U.N. News*, February 28.)

The Times (February 23) pointed out that there are two bodies, both of an *ad hoc* nature, which are concerned with Congolese affairs on behalf of the United Nations. The first is the Secretary-General's advisory committee on the Congo, consisting of all eighteen countries which are taking part in United Nations operations in that country. They are Canada, Ireland, Sweden, and fifteen Afro-Asian countries: Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Liberia, Mali, Malaya, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sudan, Tunisia and the U.A.R. This advisory committee has been meeting at the New York headquarters of the United Nations and is still in session.

The second *ad hoc* body is the conciliation commission on the Congo, consisting of the same fifteen countries of Africa and Asia, and is represented on the Secretary-General's advisory committee. The conciliation commission has been working on the scene, under the chairmanship of Mr. Wachuku of Nigeria, and it has submitted an interim report recommending the recognition of the Kasavubu-Ileo régime as the lawful Government of the Congo. The commission is expected to produce a final report shortly.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrewi A. Gromyko called for resumed consideration by the General Assembly of the Congo question. He said the situation was steadily deteriorating as a result of the aggression unleashed against that State. He charged that the Security Council's resolutions on the Congo question "are being ignored and are not carried out" and added that "the threat to the independence and territorial integrity" of the country had increased, due to attempts which had been undertaken of late to "dismember" it. During the debate he demanded that United Nations operation be brought to an end and he again demanded that Mr. Hammarskjoeld should be replaced by a triumvirate.

Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, the United Nations Special Representative in the Congo, said on a visit to New York that following the arrest, deportation and subsequent assassination of former Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba in February, "the situation of foreign nationals, specifically Belgians, grew extremely difficult" in Orientale and Kivu Provinces, both of which were "strongly pro-Lumumbist".

"Faced with a situation which, as in the whole Congo, was already serious but which had been unexpectedly aggravated from outside those provinces, United Nations representatives intervened steadfastly in favour of all those who needed protection," Mr. Dayal declared. He added, however: "It was obviously impossible, in the face of widespread anti-Belgian feeling which developed subsequent to the incidents referred to above, to provide individual protection everywhere."

After citing some of the "numerous difficulties" which had been encountered, Mr. Dayal said it was "not accurate" to say that the United Nations Command had excluded any possible use of force to help the departure of refugees. Weighing the potential consequences of such action, however, he observed that "possible reprisals" could not "altogether be ruled out of consideration". The special representative concluded by observing that there was "ground for hope" that calm might return if there were no further outbreaks in the near future.

Earlier, Mr. Hammarskjoeld had received a note from Belgium's permanent representative to the United Nations, Walter Loridan, saying: "The Belgian Government is forced to take note once more that no security exists for its nationals in Kivu, and it again appeals to the Secretary-General, who has assumed responsibility for the maintenance of order and security in the Congo, to take all effective measures for that purpose."

The report of the United Nations Conciliation Commission was circulated to delegations on March 21.

The United Nations Advisory Committee to the Secretary-General recommended the appointment of a commission of four jurists to be nominated by Burma, Ethiopia, Mexico and Togo.

Ruanda-Urundi

Elections and Constitutional Change

ARRANGEMENTS for the United Nations supervised elections in Ruanda-Urundi were discussed in Belgium in January between Government representatives and a three-member United Nations commission appointed by the General Assembly. The Commission was headed by Max H. Dorsinville of Haiti, and its other members were Dr. Majid Rahnema (Iran) and Ernest Gassou (Togo). The General Assembly instructed the Commission: to supervise the elections to be held during 1961 and the preparations for them; to observe the political conference at which a reconciliation is to be attempted between the various political parties in the country before the elections are held, and to attend the round table conference which is to be convened after the elections to discuss the future

of Ruanda-Urundi; and to "lend its advice and assistance" to the peoples of the area before and after the elections.

Belgium as administering authority would be exclusively responsible for the holding of the elections.

On February 7, the Belgian Embassy in London said that since the Government's decision, in application of the United Nations resolutions, to postpone the general elections until a date to be fixed by the General Assembly, a number of new developments had occurred. On January 28 the mayors and municipal councillors met at Gitarama at the invitation of the Minister of Home Affairs of the Provisional Government. It had been decided to form a new Government. The decisions taken had the backing of the Belgian authorities, who took the view that they could not oppose the peaceful expression of the will of the people without the risk of provoking serious disorders.

The Embassy statement continued: "This does not prevent Belgium from retaining her authority and the resulting responsibility toward the United Nations and the population, in accordance with the Trusteeship Agreements. The principles put forward by the Gitarama meeting will have to be considered by the Belgian Government, who will, in agreement with the United Nations on the one hand and the people of Ruanda on the other, endeavour to find a solution which will maintain peace and promote the attainment of independence.

"This examination of the problem in collaboration with Belgium and the United Nations is moreover the wish of the Ruanda political leaders who were present at Gitarama. It should be stressed that the current political developments do not exclude the holding of general elections. The United Nations Commission now in Usumbura is kept regularly informed of the situation. To conclude the Belgian Government considers the decisions taken by the new Government of Ruanda as the expression of the latter's wishes, the Belgian position with regard to the holding of general elections being unchanged."

Mr. Dorsinville in a cable to the president of the General Assembly on February 1 said that immediately after arriving in the trust territory in late January, the Commission had heard of the political events in Ruanda through radio broadcasts. He said the reports indicated that during a meeting of the communal councillors decisions were taken on the dethronement of the Mwami, the proclamation of a democratic and sovereign Ruanda, the election of a President of the Republic, the recognition of provisional United Nations trusteeship with Belgium as administering authority, and the submitting of decisions concerning independence to the Legislative Assembly and to the Supreme Court. Mr. Dorsinville stated that the Resident General of Ruanda-Urundi confirmed the radio reports and indicated that he was awaiting instructions from the Belgian Government. (*U.N. News*, February 14.)

Nyasaland

Election Preparations

FOLLOWING the report of the Constitutional Working Party,[1] regulations were made determining the franchise and the administration of elections. Of the thirty-three members of the new Legislative Council twenty will be elected on a lower electoral roll, eight on a higher roll and five will be official appointments of the Government.

All voters must be 21 years old or over, must be British subjects, British Protected Persons, or persons who have paid tax (or been exempted from tax payment) "as a Nyasaland African" for ten years; must have been resident in Nyasaland for a continuous period of at least two years at some time, or must be normally resident in Nyasaland, or run a business there, or own immovable property in the electoral district in which they wish to register as voters. People of any race who have these general qualifications may register on the lower or higher roll, according to their other qualifications.

There are four ways of qualifying for the lower roll: (1) Literacy in English, plus a cash income in any of the three years preceding registration of not less than £120 p.a. or ownership at the time of registration of immovable property worth at least £250; or (2) Literacy in English, or in any of the five African dialects of Nyasaland, or in Gujerati or Urdu (the two Asian languages commonly used in the Protectorate); or (3) Being a chief, former chief or sub-chief recognized by the Governor or a member of a Native authority, a past or present member of a district council, or a group of village headmen recognized by the Governor; or (4) Being master farmers, pensioners, ex-Servicemen, university graduates or a widow or woman married for at least ten years, and literate in one of the eight permitted languages.

There are four additional qualifications for those who wish to enrol on the higher roll: (1) A cash income of at least £720 for either of the two years preceding registration, or ownership of immovable property worth at least £2,500 at the time of registration; or (2) Primary education to the level of Standard VI and a cash income of at least £480 for either of the two years preceding registration, or ownership of immovable property worth at least £1,000 at the time of registration; or (3) Secondary education equivalent to four years of high school, plus a cash income of at least £300 during the two years preceding registration or ownership of property worth at least £500 at the time of registration; or (4) A university degree.

The Settlers' and Residents' Association protested to the Governor that the proposals were discriminatory and not in accordance with the constitution negotiated at Lancaster House in 1960. They added that "This exhibition of autocratic duplicity and vulgar scurry was the antithesis of the democratic system it is hoped to promote in Nyasaland. One reason for protest was that non-indigenous Africans who have the necessary qualifications can register as voters on the roll with low qualifications; this privilege is denied to Europeans who are not British subjects, and who might wish to enrol with higher qualifications." (*Northern News*, January 14.)

The Working Party introduced the new category to cover persons who were born in Portuguese East Africa and whose fathers were born there, but who had crossed the border which divided tribal areas in the districts of Ncheu, Dedza, Mlanje and Cholo.

In the first week of registration over 30,000 people were enrolled, less than 300 of whom were on the higher roll. An additional 2,250 were automatically re-registered, having been on the previous electoral roll. (*Press Release*, February 22.)

Voters on the lower roll will not mark their ballot paper with a cross, but will put it in the ballot box marked with the Party symbol of candidates they favour.

Sedition Conviction

Mr. H. B. Chipembere, treasurer of the Malawi Congress Party and a former member of the Legislative Council who was detained during the emergency in 1959, was sentenced to prison for three years for advocating violence and uttering seditious words. During the six-day trial the court heard a police tape-recording of a speech in which Chipembere claimed that Federal Government doctors were murdering Africans every day and that only Black men should rule Nyasaland. (*Daily Telegraph*, February 11.)

Emigrants for the Mines

In 1960 some 26,000 Nyasaland Africans volunteered for service in the mines in South Africa. Of these, 14,315 went for the first time and 11,753 for a second or subsequent tour. (*Press Release*, January 24.)

Peace and Calm

When Dr. Banda called a "peace and calm" conference at Soche township, Blantyre, twenty people were injured, one man was killed and nine were arrested. Mr. Dunduza Chisiza, secretary-general of the Malawi Congress Party, who was trying to control the crowd, had his arm broken. The police used tear gas when they found the crowd pressing around a recording van. *Malawi News* (January 26) reported that the trouble started when the crowd thought the police were pointing guns at Dr. Banda. The police said the only gun used was for tear-gas shells.

New Party

Mr. C. K. Kumbikano, former Federal M.P. and president of the Nyasaland division of the Central African Party, announced the formation

[1]Government Printer, Nyasaland, 3s. January 1961.

of the National Liberation Democratic Party. He said that, if the Federation continues, his Party will "seek ways and means to co-operate with other political parties in Southern and Northern Rhodesia with the same policies as his Party". "We should not let the United Federal Party form the only federal representation in Nyasaland." (*Northern News*, December 28.)

Rhodesia, Northern

Constitutional Conference and Proposals[1]

The Conference

THE Constitution Conference convened on December 19 and concluded on February 17.

Opening the conference Mr. Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said: "Our purpose at this conference is to try to find an agreed basis for the next phase of constitutional advancement in Northern Rhodesia. As with any major step in the political evolution of a country, the solution which we seek must on the one hand meet the natural aspirations of the peoples of the territory, and on the other provide for the maintenance of stable government and an efficient and developing administration . . . the solution must be compatible with the continued discharge by Her Majesty's Government of its special responsibilities so long as all its peoples desire that protection to remain. It will be for Her Majesty's Government to reach a decision on the next step to be taken, in the light of the advice which I, as the responsible Minister, submit to my colleagues: and in formulating this advice I shall naturally be guided by the views expressed by the conference."

Mr. Macleod then put forward certain general propositions:

(i) The next stage in constitutional development should lead to a substantial increase in the numbers of Africans in the Legislature which should be achieved by some flexible means and not by a rigid reservation of seats according to race.

(ii) Universal suffrage should be approached by the gradual road of qualified franchise. There should be an extension of the franchise to allow for greater representation of African opinion.

(iii) The territory was in the transitional period before the stage when Ministers were elected and were solely responsible to the Legislature. The Governor must in this period retain ultimate responsibility for public order and good government, and the Executive Council was thus advisory to him. The Governor should also have power to nominate members to the Legislative Council for certain specified purposes.

(iv) It was not too early to consider constitutional safeguards for individuals and minority communities.

(v) Special arrangements should be made to give chiefs some place in central government.

The United Federal Party and the Dominion Party declined to send representatives to the Conference when it resumed in London on January 30, but at the first session the U.F.P. opposed any substantial increase in African representation, but favoured a closer association of the chiefs with the Central Government.

The Dominion Party took the general line that a substantial increase of African legislative representation and extended franchise would imply a departure from the policy of non-racialism, partnership and evolutionary advancement.

The Liberal Party, whose representatives were the only European politicians from the territory to attend the full conference, said Europeans must accept the inevitability of African majority rule; and Africans must realize that majority rule must be reached in orderly sequence.

The chiefs supported an African majority in both the Legislative Council and a single voters' roll on the principle of universal adult suffrage. They also wished the chiefs to be associated with the work of the Legislative Council.

The United National Independence Party agreed with a non-racial approach to the territories problems and an evolutionary course, providing this was not made an excuse for delay in granting African demands. They were ready to see the Conference consider an advance to self-government, but on the basis of majority rule. The time had come for universal adult suffrage.

The African National Congress also favoured majorities in both councils and universal suffrage. They suggested a Legislative Council of seventy-five, of which sixteen seats would be reserved for Europeans.

The subsequent confidential discussions with individual delegations failed to reveal any possibility of bridging by agreement the wide disparity of views between the various groups and communities in the territory. The Secretary of State therefore announced his proposals.

Legislative Council

First, there should be an enlarged Legislative Council containing about forty-five elected members. The Legislative Council should be composed of three elements—a number of members elected by voters on the Upper Roll, an equal number of members elected by voters on the Lower Roll, and a substantial number of "national" seats in which candidates would have to obtain some measure of support from both rolls. A possible division would be fifteen on the Upper Roll, fifteen on the Lower Roll and fifteen national seats.

In the national constituencies it is contemplated that to qualify for election candidates should obtain the same prescribed minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll; and that the voting power of the two rolls would be equalized by averaging the percentage of votes cast on each roll which is secured by each candidate. There are obviously points in this part of the scheme which will require further consideration.

In addition to the elected members, there would be up to six official members; and one or two nominated members might be added.

Franchise

An outline scheme for franchise qualifications on the Lower Roll is given in the White Paper. It is estimated that about 70,000 Africans will be enfranchised on this roll.

No major changes in the qualifications for voters on the Upper Roll is intended, but the alterations might result in between 1,500 and 2,000 African voters becoming eligible for the Upper Roll, in addition to those now qualifying.

Appendix II to White Paper (Cmnd. 1295) outlines franchise qualifications for the Lower Roll. It is suggested that in addition to usual residence, nationality and age qualifications voters should *either* be able to complete the form of application in English; and have had an income of £120 for each of the preceding two years; or own immovable property worth £250; *or* be the wife of a person qualified in any of the foregoing ways; *or* be able to complete the form of application in the vernacular and be a member of one of the following categories: Hereditary councillors, departmental councillors to Native Authorities, any other members of Native Authorities, members of Native Courts, headmen of registered villages, pensioners in receipt of monthly or annual pensions, ex-Servicemen who have seen active service or who have completed a regular engagement, registered peasant or improved farmers, the wife of persons qualified as above.

Executive Council

The Executive Council would consist of three or four officials and six unofficials. The Governor would be chairman and the Council would be advisory to him. In making his appointments, the Governor would consult with and pay due regard to the person or persons who appear to him to command the widest measure of support in the legislature. The unofficials would include at least two African and at least two Non-African members of the Legislative Council. In addition Parliamentary Secretaries might be appointed.

Bill of Rights

The new constitution should include a Bill of Rights designed to safeguard the rights of individuals and the interests of minorities; and that consideration should also be given to the creation of a constitutional council to afford protection against unfair discrimination or other contravention of the rights guaranteed to individuals.

[1]Cmd. 1295, H.M.S.O., 1s.

House of Chiefs

Appendix IV to White Paper (Cmnd. 1295) suggests that leaving aside Barotseland, the House might consist of twenty-two chiefs drawn from all the provinces in the territory.

The chiefs would be elected by secret ballot by fellow chiefs in the province, meeting as an electoral college. A chief would be a member for three years. The House of Chiefs as an advisory body would have the function of examining legislation put before it by the Governor at his discretion.

The Governor would call the meeting of the House of Chiefs to be held before each new session of the Legislative Council. He would be entitled to address the House at any time. A Minister would have the right to address and to seek the advice of the House of Chiefs on any subject within his portfolio which had been referred to the House. Proceedings would be conducted in English or in any vernacular language of the territory.

The Secretary of State has requested the Governor to give early consideration to all the matters which now need to be worked out in detail within the framework of Her Majesty's Government's plan—the delimitation of constituencies, the way in which national members are to be returned.

Sir Roy Welensky's Attitude on Territorial Constitution

In Rhodesia

Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, said in Salisbury that he had rejected the British Government proposals for the Northern Rhodesian Constitution. He said: "A fair franchise must be one which will give the vote to those who are contributing to the wealth and welfare of the country and who are capable of exercising it with judgement and public spirit. It is against these principles that the new proposals must be examined and it will then be seen how drastically and diametrically they are opposed to them. It is for these reasons principally, although there are many others, that I have rejected the new scheme unreservedly. The system by which the first two groups will be elected separately by the voters on the Upper and Lower Rolls will have the immediate effect of encouraging politics on the most bitter racial lines and will entrench racial representation. This arrangement departs from the first two basic principles, principles, I may say, on which we have placed the greatest emphasis at all times and on which I and the Party for which I speak, stand firmly.

"The most objectionable feature, however, in the new scheme is that the controlling influence in the conduct of the elections will pass from the responsible or Upper Roll electorate to the Lower or immature electorate. The Lower Roll under this scheme will elect the same number of candidates as the Upper Roll (fifteen each) and in the double roll constituencies it has an equal 50 per cent control by virtue of the fact that the votes on each of the two rolls will be equalized by averaging the percentage votes secured. There are at the present a fair number of Africans already on the Upper Roll and apart from this number being increased by normal registration with the increases which have recently been made in their wages, the White Paper proposes that certain adjustments will be made to permit additional categories of Africans to be eligible for registration. This is not only objectionable in itself as a debasement of the franchise, but with the system evenly dividing the seats and balancing the voting strengths between the Upper and Lower Rolls it could place the balance of power in the hands of African nationalist parties if only a small proportion of Non-Europeans vote on racial lines—and who could blame them in the face of widespread intimidation—effective control could pass into the hands of extremists. . . . This is fundamental and we are determined to make our stand on it."

Sir Roy also said that in order to meet any possible disturbances in the country he had decided to call up a number of Territorials. (February 21.)

On February 27, Sir Roy Welensky said in Parliament: "If the British Government are prepared to accept that the door is not closed to other solutions the constitutional talks on Northern Rhodesia could be resumed in Lusaka under the chairmanship of the Governor. What we cannot accept," Sir Roy told the House, "is to be told that in fact the basis has already been fixed and we have to comply. That is not my idea of negotiation."

He said that the affairs in Colonial territories had deteriorated since Mr. Macleod took office in 1959. "Mr. Macleod estimated that the winds of change were blowing irresistibly in one direction, and that it was better to go along with them. But he reckoned without the people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who were determined to moderate those winds."

Sir Roy said he was a constitutionalist, and he had not closed the door to discussions. He thought that talks could be resumed in Lusaka under the Governor; but he would not accept that the basis had already been fixed, and had to be complied with. (*Federation Newsletter*, March 10.)

Sir Roy explained that troops had been called up because the situation was such that anyone in a position of responsibility would recognize that certain precautions were necessary. He took the greatest exception to the innuendoes cast by certain African nationalist leaders and by certain members of the House of Commons that the troops had been called up as a threat to anyone. Not only did his Government intend to keep everything in a state of preparedness, but during the next month the Government was going to call out certain other reserve battalions and give them some training to make certain that, should an emergency arise, they would be fit for use. The Prime Minister was loudly applauded when he resumed his seat. Mr. Winston Field, the leader of the Opposition, indicated that he would support the Government motion in general.

On February 28, 5,000 Territorials called up in Southern and Northern Rhodesia were stood down and the ban on police leave in Southern Rhodesia was lifted.

Clyde Sanger, writing in the *Guardian* (March 2), said: "Constitutional and economic reasons seem to be behind the sudden switch of policy. . . . Territorials cannot be mobilized for more than fifteen days without a State of Emergency being declared, and the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, saw no need for that. . . . The Federal Minister of Finance, Sir Donald MacIntyre, last week announced an additional allocation of £287,000 to the Army to cover the direct cost of the call-up but there has been a much larger, though incalculable, amount of money lost through the absence of so many young Europeans from their jobs."

The Federal Parliament gave overwhelming approval on March 2 to the Government's opposition to the British proposals for Northern Rhodesia. On a free vote, the figures were: in favour forty-six; against five; with two not voting.

In London

Sir Roy Welensky, who flew to London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference, said on arrival that he was prepared to consider getting a new mandate from the electorate in the Federation, but he was not prepared to act unconstitutionally. In his view Mr. Macleod's plan for Northern Rhodesia entrenched racialism there. "All I am trying to do is to persuade the British Government to see things in a way that won't harm the Federation," he said.

"I don't want to see the Federation destroyed. Legally the United Kingdom could alter the Federal constitution, but there are hard facts that have got to be faced. We live in the Federation, and you can't alter that kind of fact. There is now strong feeling by many people, the vast majority of them born in this country, that the Federation should seriously consider going it alone, so far as the Federation is concerned." (*Sunday Times*, March 5.)

Sir Roy Welensky had talks with Mr. Macmillan during the last few days of his visit; at the end of which the following statement was issued: "Advantage has been taken of Sir Roy Welensky's presence in London . . . for further consultations between the United Kingdom and the Federal Governments about the Northern Rhodesia Constitution. Naturally no attempt was made to carry out anything in the nature of negotiations but there has been a most valuable exchange of views.

"The United Kingdom Government confirmed that they are prepared to consider any proposals, within the framework and general spirit of the White Paper and the statements by Ministers in the House of Commons,

which may be put forward by the political groups in Northern Rhodesia. And of course, due consideration will be paid to the considerations which the Federal Government have brought to the attention of the United Kingdom Government.

"It has been agreed that detailed consultations with the various political groups should proceed at Lusaka and that the United Kingdom Government will continue to consult the Federal Government, in accordance with established practice."

Patrick Keatly writing in the *Guardian* (March 21) said: "When two such skilful layers of smoke screens as Sir Roy and Mr. Macmillan are at work the visibility is likely to be poor for some time."

Comment in Britain

Over ninety Conservative back-bench M.P.s had put their names to a motion: "That this House calls on Her Majesty's Government in considering the constitutional future of Northern Rhodesia, to maintain the basis of non-racial representation laid down by Her Majesty's Government in 1958 within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland."

The basis of the 1958 Constitution was: "That politics should be encouraged to develop on party and not on racial lines. Unless political parties could eventually cut across racial divisions, it would be impossible to achieve a united Northern Rhodesia.

"There should now begin a move away from the present system of racial representation in the Legislative Council which by its very nature may predispose members to loom more particularly at the interests of their own race rather than the general weal.

"The franchise must therefore be one which will give the vote to those who are contributing to the wealth and welfare of the country and who are capable of exercising it with judgement and public spirit."

The Times (February 13) commented: "To appeal to the 1958 White Paper is to show a dangerous unawareness of how fast matters have been moving. . . .

"No ingenuity in keeping up constitutional barriers will ensure the continued political ascendancy of the very small White minority in Northern Rhodesia. For that group of Europeans to aim at clinging on to *de facto* political power is to kick against the inevitable. The future of the White inhabitants depends on their ability to make themselves indispensable to the Black majority . . .

"Although Mr. Macleod has not come forward with formal proposals, enough has emerged for his underlying intentions to be known—and not least to the Africans. They are confident that he has meant to give them at least a bare majority of elected members in the Legislative Council, while retaining an overriding balance of official members. If he now, under pressure from his party rank and file or from his colleagues in the Cabinet, offers something less than this expected concession, he will forfeit the confidence of those whom it is so vitally important to keep trustful of the British Government. . . .

"For the British Government the path of wisdom in this era of revolutionary changes in Africa lies in going ahead, coolly and inflexibly, with measures to recognize that the Africans in Northern Rhodesia are a vast majority of its population and that the time has gone by when they could be kept at arm's length. It would be the more unfortunate if Mr. Macleod now weakened, because his intentions hitherto have, after all, been so moderate and have taken the true, long-term interests of the Whites so prudently into account."

In letters to the editor which followed Lord Salisbury said: "*The Times* has, of course, the right to write what it likes, as much as anyone else in this free country: but, with such knowledge as I have of Central Africa, I am afraid that your leading article, with its intemperate attitude to those elements in Northern Rhodesia to whom, after all, the prosperity of the country is mainly due, is likely to exacerbate rather than to bring calm to an already sufficiently difficult situation." (*The Times*, February 14.)

Lord Coleraine described the leading article as "lacking in both logic and morality. . . . You say that if Mr. Macleod, as the result of pressure were now to change his policy, he would 'forfeit the confidence of those whom it is so vitally important to keep trustful of the British Government'. Does he now possess the confidence of European Africans, or of that large body of indigenous African opinion which believes in partnership?" (February 14.)

Lord Lytton wrote: "The ominous point in his (Lord Salisbury) letter is the harking back to an old colonial dogma that the political advancement of indigenous Africans depends on the local minority of White colonists rather than on the Imperial Government at home. Yet we now see everywhere in Africa former colonial territories becoming independent states forthwith save where the educative influence of White settlers has been present for half a century or so.

"The truth in handling all self-conscious but suppressed majorities is that at a given moment there is a chance of gaining the goodwill of would-be African administrators by according to them a measure of political power over the more educated White minority. This is the introduction of partnership on the basis, as you imply that those with a right to political power will wish to exercise their right so as not to antagonize those with economic power. If the earliest possible moment of delegating political power is missed, African goodwill must evaporate and potential partners will become implacable opponents willing to serve long sentences in British prisons only to be acclaimed with the highest honours on the day of 'liberation' when the exodus of Whites is complete." (February 17.)

Sir Arthur Benson, until recently Governor of Northern Rhodesia, wrote: "No constitutional conference for Northern Rhodesia can succeed until effect has been given to the Monckton Commission's recommendations for a return to the territories of much of the Federal Government's present jurisdiction.

"It is the Federal Government (not the concept of federation) for its actions, its omissions, and its repeated declarations of intention, which all Northern Rhodesian Africans fear, and therefore hate. So long as they see its power adversely to affect their daily lives, their pockets, and their advancement, they will ignore its many admirable achievements; and they will reject any Northern Rhodesian constitution which does not give them the casting vote on the question of secession.

"But it is the British Government which they blame for their increasing despair: they heard no convincing answer to the repeated declarations that the Federation would have independence in 1960; they saw no check to the Federal Government's deliberate conversion of the concurrent jurisdiction list into a federal exclusive list; and they saw the African Affairs Board declare the federal franchise discriminatory, and still it passed into law. Hence the vast support which African nationalist leaders command and hence—and hence only—are those leaders supported when they demand independence. 'Britain has abdicated: we won't be ruled by Salisbury.'

"Settle the basic question of jurisdiction. Show the Africans that, though Northern Rhodesia remains an integral part of the Federation, it is the Europeans they live with and those in Britain who can affect their daily lives. And they will wish to live by the principles laid down in the 1958 White Paper, whatever adjustments in franchise qualifications changed conditions may have made desirable.

"Secondly, the adoption of those principles followed inevitably on the brave determination set forth in 1953 in the preamble to the Federal Constitution. There was then recognized the great opportunity, perhaps the last opportunity, to create an influential State in Africa where colour and race were to become of no account. For short-term reasons of expediency there have been sad departures from courage and wisdom during the past seven wasted years.

"Do we then, after seven short years, abandon the great object? Do we then as your leader seemed to suggest, and as Mr. Macleod seems to intend, go back to the old folly of counting Black heads and White heads—the very denial of our object? This would in truth be going back—not only in Africa but in the non-racial Commonwealth. This would be saying (after seven years): 'It is too difficult. Let the Americans keep trying at Little Rock'." (February 20.)

The Economist (February 25) described the Macleod plan as achieving "Parity of Abuse".

By drawing roughly equal fire from both the Black and the White nationalists Mr. Macleod had taken the course most likely (though by no means certain) to avert the serious violence that a clear victory for one

side could have provoked. "But he has made the Africans doubly sure that the bar to their political progress is the continued existence of federation, and he has made the Europeans doubly afraid that the price of the continued existence of federation is brusque African political advance. The things said and the things done by Sir Roy Welensky and his United Federal Party make it hard to see how the Federation can now be peacefully maintained under its present Prime Minister; Mr. Sandys' rebuke on Wednesday was a necessary one. It is not likely that the 'willing consent of the inhabitants'—declared by the Monckton report to be the only alternative to government by force—will now be forthcoming. The last hope that it might be forthcoming lay in Northern Rhodesia. There, the Monckton report prescribed a near-immediate Black majority of elected members of the legislature. It will be difficult now to refute the conclusion that this would have been granted were it not for views held in Salisbury, the Federal and Southern Rhodesian capital.

"Mr. Macleod has done his best to give the impression that no outside pressure, from Salisbury or anywhere else, has influenced the form of the constitution to be imposed on Northern Rhodesia.

"It will probably produce as curious a colonial legislature as any yet devised: one in which the most power is given to the politicians supported by the fewest people—the White Liberal Party. The Lower Roll, which could enfranchise 70,000 Africans (compared with the present possible 20,000) will elect fifteen members. All of them will probably be African nationalists, but not all will belong to the same party. Unless they now see the sense in joining forces, the two nationalist leaders—Mr. Harry Nkumbula and Mr. Kenneth Kaunda (the more powerful)—will fight each other for 'their' fifteen seats. The Upper Roll, of a possible 23,000 Europeans and perhaps as many as 3,000 Africans, will elect fifteen members, probably nearly all members of Sir Roy's United Federal Party—unless the resignations of the U.F.P. ministers from the Northern Rhodesian Government mean that the Party has now withdrawn permanently from politics in the protectorate.

"The fifteen 'national' seats will be filled in such a manner that the 70,000 Lower Roll votes will be equal in value to the 20,000–26,000 Upper Roll votes—with the proviso that no one can be elected unless he gets a certain percentage (one guess is 10 per cent) of the votes on each roll. This is where the Liberal Party thinks it can sweep the board. To win, a candidate will have to win a majority of the votes on both rolls, or (as is more likely) nearly all the votes on one roll and the minimum percentage on the other. There is more chance that Liberal candidates will win all the African votes plus the votes of a few Whites than that a U.F.P. candidate would do the opposite. In the elections in March 1959, two of the present Liberal Party representatives (Sir John Moffat and Mr. Harry Franklin) won nearly all the Black votes in their constituencies and a substantial proportion of White votes. . . .

"If they did win the national seats—or most of them—the Liberals would probably form a coalition with at least one of the African nationalist parties, leaving the other African nationalist party and the U.F.P. to fight each other in opposition. Put like this, the prospect is not unattractive. A few years ago there may have been much to say for a colonial experiment that would achieve such a legislature. . . . In 1961, Mr. Macleod's quaint new Legco is an anachronism."

The article pointed out that the fear Africans of the Northern territories had of Southern Rhodesian dominance had not been dispelled by the U.F.P.'s recent activities. "As recorded in the White Paper, the U.F.P. representatives argued against any substantial increase in the number of Africans in the Legislative Council, and against an extension of the franchise. They asked for an advance to responsible government: that is, the beginning of the removal of the British Government's protection, without any compensating increase in the Africans' constitutional facilities for protecting themselves. . . .

"Other actions of Sir Roy's have increased the tension between him and his Party on the one hand and the Africans on the other. He called up the Territorials in Northern Rhodesia—which he has a constitutional right to do. The Territorial Government did not ask for this call-up; nor did the British Government. The troops could be ordered into action only by the Territorial or the British Government, neither of which had any plans for a call-up at the time. The White Paper was followed by a second call-up, this time of White Territorial troops in Southern Rhodesia. It is not easy to think of any more effective way of demonstrating Southern Rhodesia's overmastering concern in Northern Rhodesia's politics."

The article concluded: "With Black governments in the Northern territories, substantial Black progress towards government in Southern Rhodesia, and an attenuated Federal power (all of which the Monckton Commission recommended), and with a completely new start, there could yet be a federation in Central Africa. It may very soon become necessary for Britain to draw on itself an even greater parity of abuse by pointing this out and drawing the conclusions from it."

The *New Statesman* (February 24) said: "The African leaders have assumed, naturally enough in view of the way they have been treated, that Mr. Macleod's delay in announcing (or negotiating) these missing links in his constitution was a trick at their expense. But it may not be so. Messrs. Kaunda and N'Kumbula would be well advised not to commit themselves finally on the Macleod plan until they know whether in fact it will give them the majority which is their right. If so, they should advise their supporters to accept it as a decisive, if temporary, stage on the road to full democracy.

"Mr. Macleod on his side must now furnish them with the information they need to complete their decisions."

The *Sunday Times* (February 26) said: "Sir Roy Welensky last week cast himself in the role of villain of a piece in which we were expecting to have to hiss either Mr. Macleod or Mr. Sandys, according to taste. His intemperate outburst against the constitutional plan for Northern Rhodesia which, it is now seen, has the strong and united backing of the British Cabinet, and his scarcely-veiled threats have put him throughly in the wrong with public opinion here . . .

"In Central Africa we identify Sir Roy with federation and the concept of racial partnership which the Federation was meant to enshrine. But what kind of partnership? If the Europeans are always to be the senior partners, Sir Roy and his followers are content. But the plan for Northern Rhodesia envisages a different sort of partnership, with each racial group politically dependent on the other, and with the certainty that before long the Africans' greater numbers will give them the seniority. . . .

"Sir Roy's outburst is thus the agonized cry of one who suddenly sees himself and his concepts in the jaws of political death.

"It is a plight that may well engage our sympathy, but however things might have been handled differently up to now the present fact is that the British Government cannot go back, and that the Northern Rhodesian plan, hesitant, qualified and undetailed as it is, has already taken them across the line that separates white supremacy from African self-government. The question is whether, if that is so, all the complexities and checks-and-balances are worth the African distrust and hostility they have aroused. . . .

"Political tactics apart, it would be better to recognize openly now that African ambition must have its way for a while before a permanent, friendly and constructive partnership with the European element can be created—as eventually it must, if disaster is to be avoided in Central Africa."

Colin Legum writing in the *Observer* (February 26) said: "The struggle now is over the remnants of British power. Sir Roy Welensky wants it all: the Africans want a large part of it; and Britain is anxious to hold it in balance. This latter aim is certainly the only reasonable policy to adopt at this stage of affairs. But the risks of this policy, although less than those involved in following any other course, must not be underestimated . . .

"The British Government was under no illusions about the way Sir Roy was likely to react when it decided to back Mr. Macleod's proposals. . . .

"It had been told directly by Sir Roy and by his Minister of Law, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, that the Federal Government would not only reject the proposals but would also resist their imposition. This secret pressure explains why the Colonial Secretary appeared to be shifting positions in the last few weeks. His difficulty all along has been that he was forced to choose between the risk of a conflict with the Federal Government and the risk of a violent flare-up among the Northern Rhodesian Africans.

"His skilful attempts to produce a constitution which neither promised nor denied a majority of elected African members in the Legislature was a calculated manoeuvre to minimize the risks. By persuading the African leaders and the Rhodesian European liberals to continue their negotiations on the formula offered, Mr. Macleod has succeeded for the time being in staving off one of the dangers. But the other persists. . . . Before the gathering storm obscures the real issues, it is important to grasp some basic points in the story of this Federation that was born to disaster. The first point is that, even under the Federal agreement, sole responsibility for constitution-making in Northern Rhodesia (as in Nyasaland) rests with the British Government. The Federal Government is entitled only to be consulted. Far from depending on its consent, Britain has given repeated and explicit guarantees in the past that she would not surrender her sole responsibility in this matter.

"By threatening to resist the imposition of the British proposals, the Federal Government is therefore acting outside its jurisdiction. . . . It is understandable that Sir Roy should feel as angry and wounded as he does, for until the report of the Monckton Commission he could always count on bending the British Government to his own will.

"It would be unreasonable to suppose that Sir Roy could find it easy to adjust himself to what he personally regards as a betrayal by his friends in Whitehall. In his present mood of frustration and disappointment he is unlikely to be able to see with sufficient clarity the dangers of his desperate last stand.

"One must only hope that other European leaders will seek saner policies to save what is worth saving from the Federation and, with the co-operation of the British Government and of the African leaders, set about reconstructing a new pattern in Central Africa that will survive this decade's violent storms on that continent."

Commons Debate

When Mr. Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, opened the debate on the Northern Rhodesian Constitution in the House of Commons, he said the news of Sir Roy Welensky's rejection of the constitutional plan was not unexpected.

"When one found oneself having to judge somehow between two points of view that it seemed impossible to bring together, it was not always wise to take the middle course, but it was not always wrong to do so either. The heart of the case he wanted to put was that, in this situation, what the Government had done was right and sound.

"If one sought to find a non-racial approach to the problem one could not at the same time build an assured racial majority into the structure. Therefore, he believed that the method of election to the national seats was, and would prove to be under criticism, the best method one could find for ensuring that one had at the same time a substantial increase in the number of Africans on the Legislative Council while encouraging a non-racial approach that would cut across the monolithic blocks of the two rolls.

"One criticism was that the extension of the Lower Roll might result in swamping it by persons who did not measure up to the standard required for the franchise. The categories added were precisely the sort of people who were responsible people and on whom the running of the country, particularly at local level, so much depended. . . .

"It was of great importance in the talks that the Governor would have in Lusaka that he should be able to get the points of view of all people. He hoped very much that the United Federal Party would consult with the Governor, so that the final recommendations made to him as Colonial Secretary would be as widely representative as possible. . . ."

Mr. Macleod continued: "When I spoke to a great gathering at Central Hall a few weeks ago of young people who were absorbed and thrilled with the problems of Africa—as indeed I am—I said the Colonial Secretary every day, and sometimes a dozen times a day, had to walk this tight-rope of decision, but there is risk always in whatever he does. We have had no illusions in the Government of the fierceness of the reaction that would come from the policies we have thought right to put forward."

Mr. James Callaghan (Labour) said: "Part of the trouble which the Conservative Party is suffering is that it is of split mind on these colonial questions, particularly where relations between Black and White are concerned. That is why the Colonial Secretary, in the middle of difficult and delicate negotiations, was not only publicly insulted by Sir Roy Welensky but was stabbed in the back by ninety-four of his own back-benchers. . . ."

Mr. R. Turton (Conservative) said that it was vital that the Government should pursue a consistent policy. What were the new factors which had made Mr. Macleod break principles set out in 1958? As he saw the Lennox-Boyd constitution there were four racial seats and eighteen multi-racial seats. In the new proposals there were fifteen multi-racial seats and thirty voted for by only one roll. Surely the whole principle of eighteen out of twenty-two candidates voted for by both rolls had been entirely changed when thirty out of forty-five were being voted for by single rolls.

Sir Lionel Heald (Conservative) said the Colonial Secretary had been the subject of a most violent propaganda campaign. It was strongly resented by members. . . . It was neither fair nor true to accuse him of selling out. It was the duty of all decent people to agree that that suggestion was not to be maintained.

Mr. H. Gaitskell (Labour) said that Mr. Macleod's path was not an easy one. If it was impossible to reach agreement the Government had an absolutely clear responsibility for deciding what should be done about the franchise and for carrying it through.

The franchise proposal was abominably complex, and precisely because of that it was going to be misrepresented . . . In present circumstances nothing could be more dangerous. The only way was to have reserved places. If there were reserved places, as in Tanganyika, and Kenya, then there would be Europeans dependent on African votes, and one did get the idea of people voting for persons of different colour.

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said the debate had shown a wide measure of support for the Colonial Secretary and for the Government's proposals. The responsibility for what was to be done now rested fairly and squarely upon Her Majesty's Government. They would give careful consideration to the suggestions Mr. Gaitskell had made regarding the franchise. Mr. Sandys said that Sir Roy Welensky claimed his Party had a multi-racial appeal. If it had, then the Government's plan would give him the opportunity to prove it. It was a heaven-sent gift for any party which could command the support of moderate opinion among both races.

On their side the Africans constantly asserted they did not believe in racialism, that they did not want to frighten away the Europeans and that they needed their co-operation. The plan offered to the African parties encouragement to develop policies which would give confidence to the European community. If each of the main parties persisted in thinking in purely racial terms it was certain neither could win a majority.

Sir Roy Welensky rightly feared that the Federation would be endangered by over-quick advance by the Africans. That was true, but the same applied to over-slowness.

"I have," Mr. Sandys said, "a good deal of admiration for the sturdy fighting qualities of Sir Roy Welensky. He is undoubtedly the dominant European figure in Rhodesia. He is the one man who could, if he wished, provide national leadership. But I have been disappointed with some of the things he has been saying in the past few days. I do not mind his truculent remarks about the British Government—we can take it. What has disturbed me is the general tone in which he has spoken of the racial problem. Some of the things he has said, and the way he has said them, are bound to deepen the distrust between Africans and Europeans and raise the political temperature at a time when it must surely be the duty of all responsible men to try to create calm and confidence." (*The Times*, February 23.)

Lords Debate

Lord Listowel opening the debate on Central Africa in the House of Lords (March 7) said: "There appears to have been a distinct hardening of African opinion in Northern Rhodesia and of European opinion in Southern Rhodesia against the Federal set-up. . . .

"African distrust of the Federal Government has been increased by the attitude they have adopted to constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia and by the attitude of both main Federal parties, the United Federal Party and the Dominion Party, towards political advance for Africans in that territory."

Referring to Sir Roy Welensky's reactions to the Northern Rhodesia constitutional proposals he said: "It is reassuring to know that Sir Roy Welensky does not mean to act unconstitutionally or to encourage anyone else to do so. Indeed, no one would expect such action from so experienced and capable a statesman. . . . Nevertheless, the Africans in Northern Rhodesia may be excused for thinking that when he talked about resistance by all the means at his command, he meant something more than a verbal protest against changes of which he disapproved. . . .

"Another action of the Federal Government that has added to African fears and suspicions was the call-up of four battalions of Territorials. Although, of course, the Federal Government were entitled to do this, it does not normally take place in a Protectorate except at the request of the Governor. . . .

"The other factor in the hardening of African opinion . . . has been the uncompromising opposition of the two main parties in the Federal Legislature to increased African representation in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council. . . .

"The hardening of European opinion in Southern Rhodesia is due, I think, partly to a mounting fear of African rule in the protectorates and partly to the concessions made to Africans in the proposed revision of the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. The narrow margin between these two parties, the Dominion Party and the United Federal Party, in Southern Rhodesia, would certainly make it difficult for Sir Edgar Whitehead to win his referendum in the summer. . . .

"It seems to me that there are three possible courses open to the Government. First of all, they can go on hoping, as I think we all still hope, for agreement between Africans and Europeans to accept a revised Federal Constitution. . . . I cannot myself see any good reason for convening the Conference again unless there is a reasonable prospect of agreement between the races to make the Federation work.

"It should not be forgotten, if the Conference is abandoned or finally breaks down, that the Monckton Commission said quite plainly that the Federation cannot continue in its present form; in other words it would have to be imposed by force on people who do not want it. . . .

"The third course, which I hope the Government will seriously consider, if they have not already done so, is to tell the people of the two Protectorates and of Southern Rhodesia that they will be permitted to secede from Federation if they express the wish to secede at some future date."

The Earl of Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, said his main impressions of the Northern Rhodesian Conference was of the responsible and responsive attitude of those who were present. The Africans sought universal suffrage; a clear majority in the Legislative Council and Executive Council. None of those things, in the event, was forthcoming; yet if I may so put it, they stuck it, despite their feeling that they were being strung along while a different set of negotiations was being conducted between Her Majesty's Government and the Federal Government in Salisbury. As the outcome of the Conference shows, this feeling was not based on fact. . . . But the point that I wish to make is that I felt that all the Africans present showed a sense of responsibility and impressed me with their capabilities: that they are well suited to play a part in the Government of their country."

Defending the Government's policy at the end of his speech Lord Perth said: "We have been bitterly attacked for making this change by those very people who welcome the move in Southern Rhodesia and proclaim that when Sir Edgar Whitehead did this his was indeed an act of a statesman. I have endeavoured to show that a mere enlargement of the 1958 Constitution was unsuitable. But we have not deviated one jot from the 1958 principles, above all in regard to the Constitution, for non-racial representation; and yet, my Lords, I am told that we have 'sold people down the river'. . . . I am told we have betrayed our trust to our kith and our kin. My Lords, if we had done less we should have betrayed our trust to the Africans, to whom we have an obligation. . . . Again, I would appeal to all parties to help us in the final stages of this Constitution. But our unchanging and firm purpose is to help all people in Northern Rhodesia go forward to self-government within the Federation. We shall not heed threats, but we will listen to all in our part of this task."

Lord Salisbury, giving the views of "sections of the population" other than the Africans, said that "what we are face to face with is essentially a crisis of confidence. . . . Until only a few months ago, the attitude of White Rhodesians to the home Government was one of complete loyalty and deep affection. . . . Now within the space of a few months, those feelings have given way to others of a very different kind: of suspicion, of contempt, almost of hatred of the home Government. . . .

"The main responsibility must rest on the present Colonial Secretary. . . . He is, as we all know, a man of most unusual intellectual brilliance; and he is, moreover, both brave and resolute. . . . But the fact remains that I believe he has adopted, especially in his relationship to the White communities of Africa, a most unhappy and an entirely wrong approach. He has been too clever by half.

"I believe that the Colonial Secretary is a very fine bridge player. . . . Now bridge, my lords, is a game where two players are matched against two other players. They are not enemies of each other; on the contrary, they are often most intimate friends. But they are opponents, and the aim of each pair is to outwit their opponents. It is not considered immoral, or even bad form, to outwit one's opponents at bridge. On the contrary, the more you outwit them, within the rules of the game, the better player you are. It almost seems to me as if the Colonial Secretary, when he abandoned the sphere of bridge for the sphere of politics, brought his bridge technique with him. At any rate, it has become, as your Lordships know, the convinced view of the White people in Eastern and Central Africa that it has been his object to outwit them, and that he has done it most successfully."

Lord Salisbury cited the Kenya conference as the first example of this "bridge technique", and said the White Rhodesians found themselves completely outwitted, and were driven to the conclusion that it was the nationalist African leaders whom the Colonial Secretary regarded as his partners, and the White community and the loyal Africans that he regarded as his opponents in the game he was playing."

Lord Salisbury spoke of the Federal Government's attitude to the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference. "When they were told that the Colonial Secretary would put forward a plan at the Conference, they decided that they must make certain, before they sat down at the table, what the basis of negotiation was really going to be. Until they were certain that it was one on which they could safely negotiate, they felt that it would be much better not to take part, for they would run the risk of suffering the same fate of Kenya. . . . Undoubtedly their decision put the Government, and particularly the Colonial Secretary, in a position of considerable embarrassment.

"They had to find some other procedure; and so, as Sir Roy Welensky said in his speech in Salisbury the other day—and I have not heard it denied—no fewer than three plans were successively produced and submitted privately to the Federal Government. But none of them alleviated the anxiety of the Federal Government, and it was eventually decided, it seems, by Her Majesty's Government here that matters must be brought to a head.

"So, my Lords, on February 11, the Federal Government were given 'the barest minimum of details' (I am using Sir Roy Welensky's own words) of a new scheme, a fourth scheme, and they were told that they must give their reactions to it by February 14, the date of the next meeting of the Conference. . . .

"Faced with that message from the home Government, as I understand it, Sir Roy Welensky offered to come over himself to discuss the new scheme. But strangely enough, this offer, which one would have expected would be so warmly welcomed by the Government here, was refused. He was not encouraged to come."

When pressed by Lord Listowel to say whether he agreed with this view that the Colonial Secretary had ignored his duty towards the European community in Africa, Lord Salisbury said: "Yes, I frankly think that he has. I do not think that I have in any way exaggerated the views of those people of whom I have spoken."

Lord Molson, in a maiden speech, said: "We hear much about the need for responsible behaviour by African politicians. I cannot avoid drawing attention to the action of the Ministers of the Northern Rhodesian Government. One of the provisions of the 1958 Constitution was that there should be collective responsibility. I do not know how Mr. Roberts and his colleagues were able to justify to their consciences con-

tinuing to remain Ministers in the Governor's Cabinet while at the same time boycotting the Conference in which he and their other colleagues were taking part. If I wished to criticize Her Majesty's Government it would be that, despite this boycott by the European Ministers, Her Majesty's Government continued to negotiate with them down the back stairs. Very harsh things have been said about Africans when they have been guilty of boycott—even as recently as last December when they walked out. How much more reprehensible is it that Ministers of the Crown should behave in this way!"

The Lord Chancellor, Viscount Kilmuir, said that he could not let Lord Salisbury's attack on the Colonial Secretary go unanswered. "He said that my right honourable friend the Colonial Secretary was 'too clever by half'. That remark, which can only be calculated offensiveness, was, I suppose, designed to imply that my right honourable friend was disingenuous; it could not have any other meaning. Then the noble Marquess was kind enough to say that my right honourable friend, as a bridge player, approached probably the most serious problem that faces mankind today—namely, how this world is going to continue with different races playing different parts—with a desire to outwit his opponents. My Lords, of course the answer is that anyone else who knows my right honourable friend would not accept that statement for a moment. It is poles apart from his character as his friends and colleagues know it."

The Archbishop of Canterbury said he was deeply distressed by the possible damage being done in Africa by the speeches. "I am not primarily addressing myself to the speech of the noble Marquess, Lord Salisbury. I am, on the whole, glad that it was made, for it took us all straight to the feeling and atmosphere in Africa itself. My only regret was that there was not an African here among us able to make a similar speech from his point of view, so that we might have had both before us. The noble Marquess claimed to be speaking for many Europeans in the Federation. He was entirely right in that claim, although not if he was claiming to speak for all Europeans."

Lord Hemingford, speaking of the aims and potentialities of African nationalism, said: "The Africans, one might have thought, would have been very disappointed with the Government's proposals in the White Paper; and, indeed, we know that some of the delegates at the London Conference expressed their disappointment. Yet, in the height of their disappointment, they spoke well of one man—namely, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Why? Because he was a bridge player? No. And, my Lords, may I say on that, that I would rather have a statesman who has mastered bridge than one who was content with nap or snap. But the point that appealed to the Africans at the Conference was that this man was a bridge builder. He is a bridge builder trying to construct a bridge not between two fixed points, but between two islands which float sometimes nearer together but more often farther apart. When the islands float farther apart, is the Secretary of State to be charged with inconsistency and with former statements that he has made, or with not having fulfilled pledges that he gave earlier? He is then facing a new situation. I would suggest that if Sir Roy Welensky and his followers are statesmanlike they will help to build the bridge, as I think the African extremists are already showing a willingness to do."

The Duke of Montrose, who explained that he was a member of the Opposition in the Federal House, said: "Lord Salisbury spoke no more than the truth when he spoke about bitter feeling growing up in the country . . . this feeling of bitterness has grown up during the period of office of the present . . . Secretary of State for the Colonies."

He said Mr. Macleod had forfeited the trust of Europeans as a result of his actions in Nyasaland. The Nyasaland White Paper prescribed a fundamental requirement that a voter must be either a British subject or a British protected person belonging to Nyasaland. "It was also agreed, in paragraph 17, that a Working Party should be set up to draw up detailed recommendations . . . the Working Party duly met and recommended, among other things, that the vote should be extended to certain Portuguese Africans. I am advised that neither the term 'British subject' nor 'British Protected Person belonging to Nyasaland' can be said to cover Portuguese nationals. . . . Before the Working Party's report ever saw the light of day, at least so far as the general public were concerned, the Secretary of State, in the face of the strongest possible protests from the two members of the Nyasaland Executive and others and indeed of the Federal Government, too, accepted the Working Party's recommendation and on January 3 of this year translated it into legislative effect."

When questioned the Colonial Secretary "admitted that the regulations had not been submitted either to the Executive Council or to the Legislative Council. When he was questioned as to whether it would not have been better to do so the right honourable gentleman replied that he did not think so. He said that it would have been one-sided because the Malawi Congress Party had no members in the Legislative Council.

"Surely that was a rather lame excuse. . . . Was the Law Officer of the Crown not capable of putting the Government side of this suggestion to enfranchise aliens if the matter had been opposed—as undoubtedly it would have been—by other members of the Assembly?"

The Duke said that when people in Rhodesia read of "Ban the Bomb" marches they said: "Good gracious me! They are not even going to defend themselves. How can we expect them to defend us?" On the Congo they said: "Good heavens! If they can even find 5,000 people to demonstrate in Trafalgar Square and make a hero of the late Lumumba, there is a great sickness surely in Britain." He concluded: "There seems to me to be some extraordinary sentiment abroad, if the line taken by the Press is to be taken as representing public opinion. We see defeats presented as victories, and any victories if they are those of Britain are made to appear blameworthy. Immorality is made to appear innocent; literature which our fathers banned we set free for young people to read."

In the final speech, Lord Hailsham said: "If, in fact, the tension in this House has been raised during the course of the debate, and if arguments about principle, and objective arguments about the worth or the demerit of the Government proposals in the White Paper, or any other alternative proposals there may be, have given place to passion and to personal considerations, then I must say quite bluntly that the responsibility for that lies fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the noble Marquess. I think it has made it very much more difficult for all of us, and for that reason alone I feel I must say quite honestly, and without the slightest desire to wound, that I personally think the speech was a very grave error of judgement on his part, and that he will have to bear, in time to come, a very terrible burden of personal responsibility if things do not end as happily as we should wish. . . .

"Of him to whom much is given, much is required. From the noble Marquess we have learned to expect wise counsel, moderate language, restrained opinions, and a standard of personal conduct which is courteous and always in good taste . . . I know the noble Marquess is one who has won the respect and admiration of almost every member of this House. I am bound to say that in what he said yesterday he betrayed none of the qualities which I have tried to enumerate. . . ."

Lord Hailsham was frequently interrupted during his remarks on Lord Salisbury's speech, but he insisted that it was a serious matter when such charges were laid against Her Majesty's Government and one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

In reply to statements that the 1958 Constitution was an acceptable basis for negotiation, Lord Hailsham quoted a report in the Salisbury *Evening Standard* (September 18, 1958) which dealt with Sir Roy Welensky's attack on the 1958 proposals. Sir Roy said in his statement: "The Federal Government considers that the proposals are fundamentally unacceptable to all races in Northern Rhodesia because they represent no advance towards responsible government. . . . Turning now to more detailed aspects of the proposals, the Federal Government wholeheartedly endorses the desire expressed both in the Northern Rhodesia White Paper and in the Secretary of State's dispatch to establish a political system which would operate on a non-racial basis. It firmly believes, however, that the final proposals, far from working towards the attainment of that objective will militate against it."

Lord Hailsham commented: "It is all very well for noble Lords to come here and in speech after speech say they want to go back to that; but what guarantee have we that their views on the present proposals are going to be any more stable than their views on the other proposals?" (*House of Lords Hansard*, March 7 and 8.)

Further Comment

Professor Vincent Harlow wrote: "The campaign against the Colonial Secretary and his handling of the Central African problem, culminating in Lord Salisbury's vicious attack in the Lords, has made sorry reading, for it has raised the odds against the attainment of racial co-operation which is the only practicable means by which European Rhodesians can in future exercise a political influence commensurate with their cultural and economic weight. The burden of the argument during this campaign, that there has been a departure from the non-racial principle as declared in 1958, is specious. It is based on the false assumption that this principle is only preserved in a constitution which ensures that the Europeans shall continue to be politically predominant for an extended period. The basic tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that the objective of inter-racial partnership—so explicitly stated as the objective when the Federation was established in 1953—has been so tardily and in many ways inadequately pursued. . . .

"Sir John Moffat and his liberal supporters are reported as giving the 15 : 15 : 15 plan their qualified support on the ground that the operation would give the (moderate) African leaders a reasonable chance of securing a working majority in the Legislative Council. It would seem that the weakness of the scheme—which was evidently thought to be its principal ground for commendation—lies in this element of ambiguity. Would it not be practicable to adjust the existing scheme (or one of its four predecessors to which Sir Roy has referred) so as to provide a very substantial African representation in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature at once, and to couple that with a formal declaration that there will be further constitutional review in three or five years' time, the purpose of which will be to provide for an African majority?

"This will come in any case. If it comes in specified stages and by consent, the Federation may yet be saved; if not, not." (*The Times*, March 10.)

Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, wrote to *The Times* (March 14): "In the present situation the attitude of White African political leaders is of special importance. The United Federal Party leaders and their followers are not blindly resistant to change. This was demonstrated in relation to Nyasaland by the agreement reached in the conference last August.

"In Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead during the short period of his Prime Ministership has instituted remarkable changes in the public service, the pass laws, land apportionment and African education, all designed to implement the policy of partnership. More recently he has negotiated with Mr. Duncan Sandys far-reaching changes in the constitution.

"These are dependent upon a referendum among an electorate mistrustful as never before of the British Government towards their future. In this situation it would be disastrous if the voters were to be persuaded that the British Government is determined to impose on Northern Rhodesia constitutional changes which are designed, or will inevitably lead, to Black African racialists gaining control of the government of that territory.

"Sir Roy Welensky, whose fervent desire is to preserve the integrity of the Federation and to promote a true political partnership among its races, has made it abundantly clear that, within the principles enunciated in the Lennox-Boyd dispatches, he is willing to see considerable additional Black African representation in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia. Mr. John Roberts is also willing. But Sir Roy and his supporters, among whom are numbered many Black Africans, are determined to oppose changes which lead inevitably to the domination of Northern Rhodesia's legislature by immature and extreme racialists whose objective is the antithesis of partnership."

Miss Margery Perham wrote: "In terms of current politics, with a Cabinet, an Opposition, and most of his own Party in support, Mr. Macleod needs no additional defence. But I believe that history, over which Lord Salisbury should cast a retrospective and speculative eye, will also be on his side.

"The colonists might be less embittered, though not less endangered, if they could be assured that their own errors or selfishness, which have been less, perhaps, than those of any similarly dominant caste, can have had no more than a marginal effect in arousing opposition. The reason for their danger is that to the Africans, moved by the hunger for human dignity and facing the immense task of creating states out of arbitrary tribal maps, they have become obstructive or irrelevant. Unless, of course, they can accept the hazardous reversal of becoming minorities under prentice African Governments.

"The colonists' predicament should indeed evoke not only the understanding and sympathy of Britain but also our practical help, difficult though the constructive application of help may prove. But no sympathy can do much to soften the hard reality that in 1961 small immigrant minorities can no longer hope to dominate large African majorities except, as in the Union, by increasing resort to methods which must drain 'White civilization' of its moral claim to leadership. This reality, in spite of many warnings from impartial observers, British Governments have been culpably slow to face, thus preserving the illusion of a settlers' paradise. Sooner or later, therefore, a British Colonial Secretary had to put our policy suddenly into reverse. Mr. Macleod has had the courage to undertake this difficult and ungrateful operation." (*The Times*, March 15.)

Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, writing from Bechuanaland (*The Times*, March 21), said: "If a Federal minister may express his personal views on Central Africa in your columns perhaps one who has been held prisoner by him may also.

"The views of the politicians and power groups are now well known. What of the millions of ordinary African people? Having lived my life on the lower levels of society and the last twelve years in Africa I find that the feelings of the 'underdog' about human rights are the same everywhere. In Central Africa the 'underdog' is African. The significance of his feelings Governments have resolutely refused to acknowledge:

(1) He is wholly behind his leaders.
(2) He feels even more strongly than they do.
(3) He is determined that White supremacy in whatever guise shall cease and the colour bar shall go.
(4) He is equally determined that government shall be for the people by those who represent him whatever their race. He is resolved on a non-racial society *now*.
(5) He wants Europeans to stay in his country provided that they work with him as friends. (After seven years of federation the word 'partnership' is totally discredited.)

"These seem to be the feelings of African people on all levels everywhere. Frustration has energized them; they are now an irresistible force. Further resistance to them is as politically and economically unsound as it is morally indefensible.

"For the first time in recent years the British Government appears to have understood this situation. It has taken a stand from which there is a chance to regain some of the confidence lost. British subjects in Central Africa can now feel a little bit proud to be British. Pray God we are not betrayed."

Liberals Become Ministers

Mr. J. Roberts and the other four Federal Party Ministers in Northern Rhodesia resigned shortly after the Macleod plan was announced. Two weeks later the Governor appointed Sir John Moffat, the Liberal Party president, Mr. Harry Franklin, the Party chairman, and Mr. Alfred Gondwe, a Liberal member of the Legislative Council, to ministerial rank. A fourth Minister to be appointed is an official, Mr. Humphrey Jones, administrative secretary to the Government.

Sir John Moffat is Minister of Land and Natural Resources, Mr. Franklin, Minister of Transport and Works, and Mr. Gondwe, Minister of African Education, Mr. Jones will hold the remaining two portfolios vacated by the Federal Party members, Labour and Mines plus Local Government and Social Welfare. (*The Times*, March 7.)

Assurance to Civil Servants

The president of the United National Independence Party, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, has written a letter to all European Civil Servants in

the territory, setting out his party's policy towards them. He said two things have become quite clear in Northern Rhodesia's political scene. These are: That Africans will soon be in control of the Legislative Council; and that before long there will be independence under an African-controlled government. Mr. Kaunda says that although U.N.I.P. will press for the appointment of local officers and try to put an end to discrimination in recruitment and promotion in the Civil Service, this progress can only be a slow one, especially in the initial stages. Even after self-government, Mr. Kaunda says, they will need large numbers of Europeans to speed up the development of the country. (*Federation Newsletter*, February 3.)

Unions Re-unite

The two rival African trade union congresses agreed to come together under the title of the Northern Rhodesian United African T.U.S. The re-union was a sequel to the dismissal of Mr. L. Katilungu.[1] Part of the agreement is that the new body will not affiliate itself to any political organization or to a new international body. However, the re-formed T.U.C. was known to have close links with the U.N.I.P., and the N.R.I.U.C. was affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. (*Northern News*, January 17.)

Rhodesia, Southern

Constitutional Conference Report

AFTER preliminary discussions under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, the constitutional conference sat in Salisbury from January 30 to February 7 under the chairmanship of Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The Dominion Party disassociated itself entirely from the report which agreed that there should be a Declaration of Rights applied without distinction of race, colour or creed. Any legislation passed subsequent to the new Constitution which offended against the Declaration would be invalid and any person adversely affected by a law could question its validity in the courts, with the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

In addition there would be a Constitutional Council of twelve to be chosen by an electoral college to examine legislation and report on it to the Legislative Assembly, which would nominally withdraw or amend a Bill so reported, unless it got a two-thirds majority or, after a delay of six months, a single majority. Urgent Bills the Government could get passed without such a procedure.

On representation and the franchise:

(*a*) The United Federal Party, while recognizing that Africans must over the years play an increasing part in the affairs of the country, stressed the importance of not lowering the qualifications for the franchise.

(*b*) The Dominion Party advocated: (i) That there should be no change in so far as this would involve a lowering of existing standards; (ii) that the present Lower Roll should be eliminated; and (iii) that the monetary qualifications should be related to the value of money.

(*c*) The Central Africa Party advocated a simple franchise qualification of literacy in English and the inclusion of additional categories of persons holding responsible positions in public service who would not necessarily be literate in English.

(*d*) The National Democratic Party maintained that "one man one vote" was the only realistic solution to the question of the franchise.

(*e*) The Coloured Community asked that two special seats in the Legislature should be reserved for them; since they considered that this was the only practical way of safeguarding their political status as a minority group.

(*f*) The Asian Organization accepted universal adult suffrage as the ultimate objective, but considered that this should be achieved by stages.

While maintaining their respective positions, all groups (with the exception of the representatives of the Dominion Party) considered that a scheme should be introduced, whereby the Legislative Assembly would be increased from fifty to sixty-five members. Of these, fifty would be "A" roll constituencies (delimited on the basis of the number of voters on the "A" roll). The remaining fifteen would be "B" roll constituencies (delimited on the basis of the number of voters on the "B" roll).

One member would be elected for each of the fifty "A" roll constituencies by the "A" roll and "B" roll electors, voting together. If, however, the "B" roll votes cast should amount to more than 25 per cent of the "A" roll votes cast, the "B" roll votes would be proportionately reduced in value, so that the total number of "B" roll votes would be equivalent to 25 per cent of the total "A" roll votes cast in the constituency.

Conversely, one member would be elected for each of the fifteen "B" roll constituencies by the "B" roll and "A" roll electors voting together. If, however, the "A" roll votes cast should amount to more than 25 per cent of the "B" roll votes cast, the "A" roll votes would be proportionately reduced in value, so that the total number of "A" roll votes would be equivalent to 25 per cent of the total "B" roll votes cast in the constituency.

The electoral system should provide for a single transferable vote. Chiefs and headmen would be added to the "A" roll. On the "B" roll the existing first two income qualifications could now be an income at the rate of £240 per annum earned during the six months preceding the date of the application for enrolment *or* ownership of immovable property of the value of £450. Two years secondary education *and either* (*a*) an income at the rate of £120 per annum earned during the six months preceding the date of the application for enrolment *or* (*b*) ownership of immovable property worth £250.

The following additional categories of persons would qualify:

Persons over 30 years of age, who have earned an income at the rate of £180 per annum during the six months preceding the date of their application for enrolment, *or* who own immovable property worth £350.

Persons over 30 years of age, who have completed Standard VI education *and either* (i) have earned an income at the rate of £120 per annum during the six months preceding the date of their application for enrolment, *or* (ii) own immovable property worth £250.

All Kraal heads with a following of twenty or more heads of families.

Ministers of religion.

Amendments to the Constitution would require a two-thirds majority. Basic clauses relating to the Declaration of Rights, the Constitutional Council, the Judiciary, appeals to the Privy Council, and the procedure for amending the Constitution, would in addition require either a majority in a referendum of each of the four racial communities voting separately or the approval of the United Kingdom Government.

The Conference agreed that the decisions to enshrine a Declaration of Rights in the new Constitution, to establish a Constitutional Council and to permit appeals in this connexion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, would provide safeguards against discriminatory legislation as fully effective as those at present afforded by the powers reserved to the United Kingdom Government.

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations accordingly informed the Conference that he would be prepared to recommend the elimination of the powers retained by the United Kingdom Government: to advise the Sovereign to withhold assent to Bills of the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia or to annul Acts already passed by it; and to exercise control over matters relating to the Native Department.

In the time available, the Conference was not able to consider the provisions of the present Constitution dealing with Native Reserves and the Land Apportionment Act. However, it was agreed in principle that the powers of the United Kingdom Government in relation to these matters should be eliminated, provided that fully effective alternative safeguards could be devised.

The Southern Rhodesia Government asked that the United Kingdom Government should initiate legislation to provide that, in future, Parliament at Westminster would not legislate for Southern Rhodesia, except at the request of the Government of Southern Rhodesia, in regard to any matter within the competence of the Legislative Assembly. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations took note of this request without commitment.

[1] DIGEST VIII, 4.

Comment

The *Guardian* (February 9) called the result an important landmark in Southern Rhodesia's progress towards both multi-racialism and sovereignty, but said that the scope of the Constitutional Council was too limited and did not match the more thorough proposals made in the Monckton Report.

The *Observer* (February 12) said: "Both Sir Edgar Whitehead and Mr. Joshua Nkomo are risking their political lives over last week's agreement on Southern Rhodesia. But is this settlement really worth such risks—and does it justify Parliament in giving up Britain's reserved powers over Southern Rhodesian legislation? . . .

"The settlement itself amounts to this: that the Africans can prevent a regressive change in the new arrangements, and the Europeans can prevent a progressive change. The Declaration of Rights is apparently not to be retroactive, leaving many discriminatory laws in force. . . . For Parliament to hand Southern Rhodesia over to a Constitution so timid in scope and so heavy with the threat of stalemate would be disastrously premature."

Sir Robert Tredgold, former Chief Justice of the Rhodesian Federation, said: "The proposals seemed to be the most ingenious and acceptable way of settling the question of representation.

"They seem to recognize the cardinal principle that each Member of Parliament shall be responsible to all sections of the community. And they seem also to afford the opportunity of wider representation, while guarding against risks of the electorate being swamped by people who have not reached the standard where they can exercise the franchise intelligently."

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president-general of the African National Democratic Party, said: "Africans would not stand in the way of the new Constitution, but would continue to fight for 'one man one vote'." His party regarded the new Constitution as only a small step towards freedom and independence.

His delegation at the talks had made it clear that they were not committed to the new franchise proposals, although they had not opposed their inclusion in the report. . . . He added: "It is inevitable that in the very near future this country will have universal suffrage. You cannot stop the fires of freedom with this little document." (*Guardian*, February 9.)

Members of the National Democratic Party in Salisbury and in London protested against the agreement. Mr. Nkomo returned to London and saw Mr. Sandys who later issued a statement saying that there had been no misunderstanding. The report did not imply that the N.D.P. or any other party had declared itself satisfied with the proposals. "You, on behalf of the National Democratic Party, made it quite clear that you were far from satisfied with the advances envisaged in the new proposals for representation and franchise, and that you reserved your complete freedom to continue to press for your party's objective of 'one man, one vote'."

Sir Edgar Whitehead said that a White Paper giving details of the proposed new Constitution would be issued but that the referendum on it could not be held before June 1961.

In the House of Commons (February 23) Mr. J. Stonehouse (Labour) said most of the population of Southern Rhodesia regarded a constitution which allocated three-quarters of the seats in the Legislature to less than 10 per cent of the population as White racialism. The goodwill on which such arrangements depended had been destroyed by the "extremist speeches" of Sir Edgar Whitehead and Sir Roy Welensky. Would Mr. Sandys consider a referendum, not only of the White electorate but of the Black population as well?

Mr. J. Callaghan, the Labour Party's Colonial spokesman, said there would be very strong resistance to any attempt by Mr. Sandys to remove the protection given by the Crown to people in the territory so long as they enjoyed only a minority of seats and were unable to exercise a full franchise.

Mr. Sandys said he endorsed every word of Mr. Callaghan. "We had certain reserve powers which had proved to be an extremely blunt instrument and very unsuitable for dealing with this situation." As a result, he said, some entirely different safeguards had been negotiated, which in his view would provide infinitely better and more effective protection for human rights and against unfair racial discrimination than the powers already possessed. The changes in the constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia did not go as far as the African representatives would have liked, but they would give to the Africans in the new Legislative Assembly something approaching 25 per cent of the seats, whereas at present they had none at all.

National Democratic Party opposition to the new Constitution grew as its provisions became more widely understood, and the Party's leaders came under heavy pressure to dissociate themselves from the report.

Following are extracts from articles appearing in *Dissent* (March 2) which put the cases for and against N.D.P. participation.

The Case Against

The unity of the Party must be preserved at almost any cost at the moment—even although this cost is as high as the acceptance of proposals which even those who have been responsible for negotiating regard as largely unsatisfactory. The argument here put forward is not that because the leaders have committed or virtually committed the Party to an agreement unfavourable to it, they ought therefore to be rejected; but rather that the leadership ought to have rejected the proposals because by accepting them they were running so grave a risk of splitting the Party. . . . Since its inauguration the N.D.P. has looked to this Constitutional Conference as its first major goal and its main means of becoming effective for the future. . . . The N.D.P. would if necessary force its way into the Conference chamber and win from the British Government constitutional changes which would make the Party's aims realizable within the newly established constitutional order. This was the shaping myth of the Party. And not just a myth, not just an explanation to counter the logic of those who concluded that the Party because of its revolutionary ends must be contemplating revolutionary means. Nor was it unrealistic. British influence on Southern Rhodesia seems perhaps remote and ineffectual. There is, however, one overwhelming reason for believing in the political reality of the reserve clauses—Sir Edgar Whitehead's determination to get rid of them. . . .

The correctness of this policy was demonstrated by the dislike it won from Sir Edgar. He did not, of course, want to force the Party into real revolutionary violence, though he wanted to use the threat of revolutionary violence to destroy it. . . .

While the results of attempts to ban the N.D.P. ground and still grind on in the law courts, Sir Edgar has switched to the opposite tactic; to draw the N.D.P. into the system—*his* system—without changing it at all; to neutralize what he has found too dangerous to destroy.

This time he has succeeded. The N.D.P. existence depended on the delicate line which it had taken, in its combination of revolutionary spirit and vision with constitutional and cautious mind. Now it has agreed to become a political party in a system which is designed to refuse it power, it must either fall apart or become transformed.

Supporters of the proposals can make out a case that the new safeguards are better than the former British powers. But here, though we seem to be dealing with sharply defined legal conceptions, in fact we are dealing with imponderables. The reserved powers were not used—yet they had an influence, though one hard to identify, on Southern Rhodesian politics. On the other side, we can hardly guess how a Constitutional Council is likely to work. It is also maintained by those who favour the new constitutional proposals that, after all is said and done, Britain can still intervene in the last resort and that she would never in any case have intervened until then. But although the legal position is unchanged the practical position probably is. In one sense Britain has not formally given up her right to interfere on behalf of the African people, but in another she has virtually accepted a recommendation from the representatives of the African people that they no longer expect or wish her to do so. After the conference, after the African agreement to the removal of the reserved clauses, Britain must feel she is nearer to a complete release from her responsibility for Southern Rhodesia. It does not, therefore, seem true to say that Britain is just as likely to intervene as she has ever been. Nor is it true to say that the bargain was driven between Sir Edgar and the British Government and that the Africans accepted because they had no choice. Britain must realize that a resolute African rejection would make

any settlement useless and she could hardly have withdrawn her powers if the Africans had demanded that they stay. Sir Edgar was bargaining with the British Government, it is true, but he was also bargaining with the N.D.P. to draw them into the system while changing it as little as possible. If the N.D.P. had rejected the inadequate proposals it would have been back in the relatively secure position it had before the conference.

No one regards the franchise itself as satisfactory. The only excuse that can be offered by its supporters in the N.D.P. is that it will quickly be transformed. . . . Even if the N.D.P. win all the "B" roll seats—the "B" roll is still very limited so this is unlikely—they still have to win eighteen of the "A" roll seats before they have a majority in the House. To get a two-thirds majority they must win twenty-nine "A" roll seats. Remember that in parliamentary matters what counts is not the proportion of the total membership a Party holds but the actual number by which it is in a majority or a minority. From this point of view the N.D.P. is under the new Constitution, supposing it wins every "B" roll seat, still two seats farther from a majority than it was under the old system with no members in a house of thirty!

Further, it is at least arguable that it will be more difficult for the N.D.P. to win "A" roll seats under the new arrangements than it would to win any seats under the Todd franchise, because though the "B" roll is much larger it is always automatically reduced to a quarter of the "A" roll votes cast (a smaller proportion than that indicated by the Tredgold proposals where the reduced vote was first set forward). Not only does it seem that the Rhodesian Government has set its face against genuinely representative government, but that it has ingeniously devised a remarkable system which seems to move towards it by really moving away.

Could the N.D.P. have acted otherwise? Certainly the idea that the rejection of the proposals would have led to such a deterioration of conditions that bloodshed was unavoidable will not stand up to examination. So far the N.D.P. has kept an actively revolutionary situation from developing in Southern Rhodesia, and while the N.D.P. remained quite united such a Party could not grow up. On the other hand after Sir Edgar's fiasco no government could again attempt to suppress the N.D.P. either arbitrarily or by legislation. Now the Party has set itself problems which will make its role of containing revolutionary energy much more difficult. The circumstances of the agreement after the Party's high hopes, the strong sense of a bad bargain, even the suspicion with which it has become customary since the establishment of the Federal House, to regard African M.P.s, especially when they are, as it were, given seats, will all make it impossible for the N.D.P. even if it does not itself split, to prevent a revolutionary party springing up on its left.

The Case For

The National Democratic Party clearly has the same ends as the Malawi Congress Party and the United National Independence Party. Its participation in the Southern Rhodesian constitutional agreement is in no sense a betrayal of those ends but it is—or at any rate it seems—a radical departure from the methods employed by the two Northern parties to achieve them . . . the situation of the Southern Rhodesian nationalist really has much more in common with the African nationalist in the Union of South Africa, with whom he has not worked and by whom he has been little influenced. The Southern Rhodesian struggle will not be as hard as the South African struggle has been and will be, but it will be much harder than the struggle in the North. . . .

All that can reasonably be asked is that one nationalist movement will not advance itself at the expense of another—and for this reason the N.D.P. has foregone the possible advantages of continued association with the North and come out against federation, even at the risk of Southern Rhodesia moving into the orbit of the Union of South Africa. Now they must be allowed to move forward as is best for them in the situation in which they find themselves.

It has, of course, been argued both by members of the U.N.I.P. and by the members of the N.D.P.'s London office that the Southern Rhodesian agreement *has* damaged U.N.I.P. in its negotiations for a Northern Rhodesian constitution. But this can only be believed if one supposes that the British Government holds the fallacious view we have already criticized. Certainly Sir Roy Welensky has been trying to persuade the British Government that if one course is right for Southern Rhodesia it must also be right for Northern Rhodesia. But his signal lack of success in this endeavour shows that British Governments—and in particular British Conservative Governments—do not believe that the ends must be everywhere the same. They are impressed above all by the realities of power and the limitations of possibility. . . . If Mr. Sandys in fact enjoys the prestige of peace-maker as a result of his Salisbury activities, that prestige is now strengthening the position of the British Government in imposing a constitutional settlement on Northern Rhodesia which Sir Roy Welensky bitterly opposes and which U.N.I.P. will increasingly come to accept as the best they could hope for at the moment.

This outcome shows that the N.D.P. have not betrayed anyone else by participation in the Southern Rhodesian agreement. The important question is whether they have in fact done the best thing in the Southern Rhodesian situation.

The point is this. By getting full-scale constitutional talks, at which they were represented and over which a British minister presided was in itself a remarkable achievement for the N.D.P. It could not be assumed that they were the first in a long series of such meetings and still less could it be assumed that there would always be British chairmanship and British influence exerted. The British presence had to be exploited for all it was worth. In the event it proved not to be worth very much but this was not the result of the N.D.P.'s failure to exploit it. Early on in the talks the N.D.P. knew that their hopes of a British initiative which would transform the present system were in vain. They knew this as soon as Mr. Sandys failed to support their arguments against submitting any constitutional agreement to the existing electorate. Once it has been decided that any agreement should go to a referendum or election on the present franchise, the N.D.P. knew that there were rigid limits to what could be achieved—the limits of what Sir Edgar Whitehead thought he could get away with at the polls.

Still, if the British attitude was profoundly disappointing to the N.D.P. something at least was gained. Critics have tended to dismiss the new safeguards as unimportant because they are substitutes for the reserved clauses and because the reserved clauses have come to be regarded as things that only Sir Edgar Whitehead was worried about. . . .

The importance of these safeguards should not be minimized, nor should it be assumed that the N.D.P. are not really interested in them. It was probably no coincidence that Mr. Chitepo, the N.D.P.'s legal expert and an adviser at the talks, had recently returned from an international jurists' conference in Nigeria where the problem of safeguards in African States was thoroughly discussed, nor that the N.D.P. invited the Nigerian Attorney-General, Mr. Elias, to attend the talks as their adviser, nor that the proposed Bill of Rights is modelled on the Nigerian legislation.

It is perfectly obvious that the N.D.P. regards the franchise as totally inadequate. And so, indeed, they are. But the question really is—do they for all their inadequacy offer any sort of way forward or are they merely a blind alley?

The objections to it are obvious: its inflexibility, which will bring fifteen African members into the Assembly immediately but does not allow for any progressive increase of that number in future elections; the fact that European members will possess a secure two-thirds majority; the fact that the new system of devaluing "B" roll votes makes it impossible for "B" roll voters to dominate any ordinary constituency. If such a system were really to endure "for the foreseeable future" it would be a dead end, a trap for African politics. Critics are contemptuous of that reasoning which holds that the new system cannot possibly last for any length of time because of the pressure for change and who believe that the analogy, say, with "representative" institutions in the Union of South Africa is consequently unsound. It is certainly true that it is not possible to prove this contention. But the critics themselves presumably believe that rapid change is possible, indeed inevitable.

It would surely be ridiculous to hold that it is impossible to maintain resolution and radical purpose if one decides to participate even in the most imperfect representative system. Of course if one fails to realize that it is imperfect or tries to exploit it and does nothing else—then it saps radical determination. But in this case there is little danger of that.

Finally we must ask the critics what alternative there now is. It was

never very sensible to say that if the N.D.P. had refused to agree to the settlement they could have continued to walk the tight-rope between radical purpose and restraint. They had to find some other way of doing it in any case and although participation in the newly constituted parliamentary system may not be a very satisfactory way there does not appear to be any perceptible alternative. The critics say that a N.D.P. rejection would not in itself have made conditions so much worse that it would have led to grave disorder and racial strife. But this misses the point. A N.D.P. acceptance leaves the Party with the choice of working within the system or turning to frankly revolutionary methods or combining both parliamentary and radical techniques and by so doing continuing to preserve the delicate balance. Rejection would have left them with no choice at all but to adopt the methods of revolution. And Southern Rhodesia is not Nyasaland: here there is no Colonial Office to yield very sensibly to a show of force but "settlers" determined to fight it out if need be.

There must be at least an attempt to advance on the lines suggested. Such an attempt need not—and would not—imply satisfaction. Far from it: the N.D.P. must use the new system to break the new system. The way things are going in Africa, and with Britain, after all, still retaining the right to legislate for Southern Rhodesia, it probably can be done.

Detainees

Twenty-seven Africans, restricted to the remote rural area of Gokwe after being detained when the state of emergency was declared in February 1959, were released in January. Of the fifteen who are still held, six are in prison and nine in the restricted area. The imprisoned at Marandellas include George Nyendoro and Robert Chikerema, formerly officials of the banned African National Congress.

A multi-racial women's meeting scheduled to take place in an African township to protest to the Government against the continued detention without trial of the fifteen Africans was cancelled by the organizers in Salisbury for fear that heavy police control might lead to incidents. (*Observer*, February 26.)

Thirst for Education

Two hundred African schoolchildren who were told by the headmaster of the new secondary school in Highfield township, Mr. O. Lawton, that the school was full and they had no room, marched to the police station shouting: "We want school."

African members of the Highfield management board supported the claims of the children and demanded to see the Minister of Education, Mr. Ralph Cleveland. The Minister issued a Press statement in which his department promised to build temporary tent classrooms before the end of February and to find teachers.

Housing Problems

With houses costing £500 each and accommodation for single men £100 per head, the city of Bulawayo requires £5–6 million to meet the need for housing. Of the 90,000 Africans, some 14,000 or more are squatters—10,000 families and 3,000 single men are in need of houses. In some of the worst cases up to seventeen men, women and children are living in two small rooms. (*Rhodesia Herald*, January 28.)

African building artisans in Salisbury are paid 2s. 8d. an hour compared with 8s. 9d. an hour for Europeans. Because of lack of opportunities for training and apprenticeships, Africans are classed as "artisans" while Europeans are "journeymen". The rates of pay are agreed by Industrial Councils or Boards under the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, which is non-racial.

Commenting on the discussions about the Costain[1] housing contract the *Rhodesia Herald* (January 5) said the Salisbury City Council sits in splendid isolation, seemingly impervious to the stresses and strains that are going on outside the Town House.

African housing is one of the most pressing needs in Southern Rhodesia. Thousands of Africans live in appalling conditions, yet no sense of urgency seems to activate the majority of Salisbury's civic leaders. Initially they voted for a tender that was nearly £24,000 above the lowest. They discriminated against African labour in favour of European labour over houses for Africans in an African township.

Whatever emerges, the City Council has shown itself to be out of touch with changing events and times in Africa—epitomized perhaps by Alderman Olley's nostalgic reference in yesterday's debate to what happened in municipal affairs between 1910 and 1938. It has also provided grounds for serious consideration of proposals for the Government to take away any local authority control of African townships.

[1]DIGEST VIII, 4.

Sedition Acquittal

Mr. J. Avery, a farmer, said to be a member of the Rhodesian Republican Army,[1] was acquitted in Salisbury of contravening the Sedition Act by publishing a pamphlet which said: "Negroes will be discouraged from violence by violence. If the Government will not smash the Negro killer mobs they will get out of hand." The magistrate held that, while the pamphlet contained "strong words", seditious intent had not been proved. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, February 23.)

Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of

New High Commissioner

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT, Minister of State at the Commonwealth Relations Office, was appointed High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He is 48. The Queen approved the conferment on Mr. Alport of a life peerage.

Defence and Security

The Times (February 14) summarized the defence and security position: In the Federation defence (and the armed forces) are a Federal responsibility, whereas internal security (and the police) are a Territorial responsibility. Movements of troops within the Federation take place at the order of the Federal Government. They can be used in internal security roles, however, only at the request of the Territorial Government concerned. Police can be moved from one territory to another only at the request of the Territorial Government.

Regular Army Units. 1st Battalion, The Rhodesian African Rifles; White officers, African rank and file. Originally a Southern Rhodesian unit.

1st Battalion, the King's African Rifles (Central Africa Rifles)—White officers, African rank and file. Raised in Nyasaland. Originally a colonial unit administered by the War Office.

2nd Battalion, the King's African Rifles (Central Africa Rifles)—Signals, Medical and Ordnance platoons.

In addition there are three reserve battalions.

Territorials. Royal Rhodesia Regiment (Rifles). Originally a Southern Rhodesian unit, it is all White and now consists of four battalions. Affiliated to the King's Royal Rifle Corps. A battalion has been raised in Northern Rhodesia since federation which includes armoured car subunits.

New Units. One regular infantry battalion, a reconnaissance squadron, and a Special Air Service squadron composed of Europeans are being formed.

Air Force. The Royal Rhodesian Air Force consists of six squadrons. It has Canberras, Vampires, Canadair Transport aircraft, Dakotas and Provost trainers.

Service. All males of European stock in the Federation aged between 18 and 23 are liable for four years' service in the Territorials. In the first year they do 4½ months of continuous service. For the next three years they serve a minimum of two weeks a year, plus forty hours a year. Afterwards they have certain reserve liabilities.

Strength of Federal Forces. These figures are approximate and are based on departmental estimates, available in London about a year old.

[1]DIGEST VIII, 3.

Officers—250 Army Regulars, 90 Territorials; Other Ranks—3,400 Army Regulars, 3,500 Territorials.

Southern Rhodesia Police. British South Africa Police: originally the company police of the chartered company. Depot at Salisbury. High proportion of Europeans serving with it. Strength (based on latest available figures in London, which may be slightly out of date): European officers, about 60; European other ranks, about 1,200; African other ranks, about 3,000. Employed on normal police duties (not quasi-military duties, as is usual in colonial police forces). Small military platoon normally employed on ceremonial duties but available for riot action. Reserve of about 5,000.

Northern Rhodesia Police. Officers, about 930; other ranks about 4,000. Has a mobile unit "striking force". Reserves, about 2,200.

Nyasaland Police. Officers, about 260; other ranks about 2,000. Has a mobile unit "striking force". Reserves, about 1,800.

(*Note:* All figures are approximate.)

EAST AFRICA

The Raisman Commission[1]

THE Commission headed by Sir Jeremy Raisman, deputy chairman of Lloyds Bank, has reported on the common market area, economic co-ordination between territories and taxation arrangements in East Africa.[2]

The Commissioners are in general satisfied with the financing of the self-contained services, transport and communications which are self-financing and account for the bulk of the finance and common services of the East Africa High Commission. They criticize the financing of the non-self-contained services, such as the general administration of the High Commission, revenue collection, the navy, and economic and research services. These are paid for by annual grants from the United Kingdom, the three territories and by grants from Zanzibar for some of the common services it uses.

"The High Commission still has a completely official executive whereas in the territories constitutional development has meant an increase in the powers of ministers. As a result, the Territorial Governors (who together comprise the High Commission) have less authority . . . territorial governments are bound to weigh the financial requirements of the High Commission services against their own needs, and to tilt the scales in favour of the latter. This situation is likely to become more pronounced in the future with the development of representative governments in the territories, since there would be a strong pressure for a territorial government . . . to cut expenditure in respect of services for which it was not answerable to the electorate in favour of services for which it was." This would weaken the power of the High Commission to operate and develop these services for the benefit of East Africa as a whole.

The Common Market

The Common Market has benefited East Africa as a whole. Between 1952–4 and 1957–9 real output has increased by more than 20 per cent which is greater than the rate of growth of even the advanced countries. But the benefits of this growth have not been equally shared by the territories. Over half of the increase in physical output took place in Kenya. "Average real income per head may be said . . . to have risen rapidly (perhaps as much as 40 per cent) in Kenya; to have risen perhaps rather less than half as much as this in Tanganyika and probably to have risen rather than fallen in Uganda. . . .

"The future political relationships between the territories cannot be predicted or prejudged. We think, however, that the Common Market is of such importance to their economic future, and the danger to it from internal strains so great, that some inter-territorial redistribution of income, offsetting in some degree the inequalities in the benefits derived, is urgently called for in order that the Market may be preserved."

A Distributable Pool of Revenue

The Commissioners suggest that a distributable pool of revenue should be created. This would reduce the present unequal benefits, ease the tensions between the territories in relation to the Common Market, and provide the High Commission with an independent source of revenue for most of the services which are not self-financed.

Receipts for the Pool would come annually from 40 per cent of the taxes as company profits and 6 per cent of the Custom and Excise duties arising in each territory. Fifty per cent of these receipts would go to the High Commission to finance the main non-self-contained services, and the other 50 per cent would go in equal shares to the territories. It is estimated that if this arrangement were made Kenya would lose £675,000 in revenue, Tanganyika would gain £310,000, Uganda would gain £245,000 and the High Commission would gain £120,000. The scheme would have to be re-examined at short intervals and readjusted in the light of economic and financial changes in the territories.

Improved Economic Co-ordination

The Report recommends that there should be regular meetings of the relevant Ministers to discuss policy in matters of trade and prices, and an attempt should be made to establish a code of principles on these matters. These meetings should be assisted by an economic adviser and a secretariat free of territorial affiliations and the staffing of the Department of Economic Co-ordination should be expanded for this purpose. Industrial licensing restricts free development in the Common Market area, had produced friction between the three territories, and should be discontinued as soon as existing obligations are fulfilled.

[1] See below: "Kenya—Financial Crisis".

[2] *East Africa: Report of the Economic and Fiscal Commission* (Cmnd. 1279), H.M.S.O. 5s.

Ethiopia

Awash Valley Development Plan

EARLY in March work was expected to begin in Tendaho in the lower region of the Awash River Valley for the irrigation and cultivation of a tract of undeveloped land. This would be the second major project in a programme the Emperor has long envisaged as providing solutions to many of Ethiopia's economic and social problems.

The first major project was the Koka Dam and hydro-electric power plant. Construction of the dam was begun in early 1958 and completed in May 1960. With a reservoir capacity of 1½ million cubic metres, the dam is able to control some of the flow of the Awash waters and reduce the waste during periods of heavy rain.

The electric power plant, having a potential generating capacity of 105 million kilowatt hours a year, is now supplying all the power that can be handled by the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority in Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and Harrar. Further, power from the Koka plant is being supplied to domestic and industrial users at substantially lower rates than had previously prevailed.

The dam at Koka along with the hydro-electric plant and transmission lines to Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa and Harrar, was made possible by the Emperor's allocation of funds amounting to 40 million Ethiopian dollars received as war reparations from the Italian Government for the costs of construction.

The Emperor's programme for developing the Awash River Valley has both short-term and long-term aspects which will require tremendous effort and activity for many years to come at all levels of government and in much of the private sector of the country's economic life. Mr. Geoffrey Wetherell, general manager here for the Mitchell Cotts Group, which is in partnership with the Imperial Ethiopian Government on the Tendaho project, said that it would provide numerous job opportunities "for men willing to work".

For the implementation of the programme in all of its many aspects, it is expected that an autonomous, independent organization will soon be established within the Ethiopian Government. The A.V.A., as the new authority is already being called, is to be in structure and function much like the Tennessee Valley Authority, more popularly known as the T.V.A., in the United States. (*Ethiopian Herald*, February 2.)

On February 8 an agreement was signed in Addis Ababa for a United States $1.25 million survey of the Awash River Basin for large-scale irrigation farming and power production. The agreement was signed by

H.E. Ato Yilma Deressa, Minister of Finance in the Government of Ethiopia, Mr. Paul G. Hoffman, managing director of the United Nations Special Fund, and by Dr. Robert Watson, representative of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, which has been designated by the Special Fund as executing agency for the project.

The survey is expected to take three years, with the Government contributing United States $327,000 towards its total cost, and the United Nations Special Fund contributing United States $930,100. The new Ethiopian Government agency, the Awash Valley Authority, is to be responsible for Government participation in the project. (*Voice of Ethiopia*, February 8.)

Kenya

Election Results

Primary Elections

THE communal primary elections for the ten European, eight Asian and two Arab reserved seats were held between January 18 and January 23. The object of these elections was to ensure that every candidate had "effective and genuine support within his own community", before he became eligible for election on the common roll. The system finally adopted was such that each elector was instructed to strike out on his polling card the name of any candidate he did not wish to be eligible for the common roll election. The elector could if he wished leave the names of all candidates intact.

To qualify a candidate needed a minimum of 25 per cent of what were called "permissive yesses", i.e. 25 per cent of the voters had to leave his name on their polling cards. The result of this procedure for example gave Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck (Kenya Coalition) 76.7 per cent whereas his opponent Mr. Michael Blundell (New Kenya Party) polled 26.7 per cent, the two percentages totalling more than 100 per cent. This system helped the less popular candidate to increase his percentage. The Kenya Coalition which commanded most support among European voters therefore appealed to electors to "vote for one candidate only".

The election results eliminated Mrs. E. D. Hughes, Mr. A. B. Goord, and Mr. I. Campbell of the New Kenya Party who polled 23.3, 19.7, and 14.1 per cent respectively. Apart from two Independents, all the other candidates in the reserved seats qualified to go forward to the common roll election.

Clyde Sanger writing in the *Guardian* (January 25) stated that there was heavy polling in every constituency, with the highest poll of 89 per cent in the Rift Valley constituency—where the two party leaders, Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck of the Coalition Party and Mr. Michael Blundell of the New Kenya Party, clashed—and an average throughout the reserved seats of 79 per cent. Of the votes cast between the Kenya Coalition and the New Kenya Party (that is extracting votes for Independents) the Coalition took 71 per cent, heading the poll in every constituency and eliminating three New Kenya Party candidates from the common roll elections.

A surprising fact was the strength of the Coalition in urban areas where its policy offered little and its candidates were of poor calibre. It was believed that many Civil Servants voted for the Coalition, since it had given the impression of pressing the British Government hardest on security of contract.

The results could only be interpreted as a condemnation of the Macleod Constitution and of Mr. Michael Blundell, its chief advocate. Mr. Don O'Beirne, a Coalition candidate, called on his voters to strike out the names of "the perpetrators of the Lancaster House Agreement" and most of them did.

Mr. Michael Blundell, who only managed to survive his contest with Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck with a 1.6 margin above the 25 per cent minimum, said afterwards: "I have always enjoyed skating on thin ice." Sir Ferdinand said: "I have succeeded beyond my wildest dreams. Surely these results must prove to Mr. Macleod and perhaps even the Government of the country that the minorities while not wishing to retard political progress are tired of the continual policy of political expediency and appeasement."

The *East African Standard* (January 24) wrote: "It is possible that the Coalition will now bend its attention to courting African favour with new ideas more in accord with African ambitions", but Africans have taken the Coalition's repeated calls for a "planned and orderly transition of power" as a synonym for delay.

"Coalition candidates so concentrated on winning the primary elections outright that they did not elaborate any policy of co-operation with Africans. Their success in getting two candidates returned unopposed, disfranchised and so alienated 18,000 African voters in those constituencies. The Executive Officer of the Kenya African Democratic Union said: 'It is a shocking result. It shows that the Europeans are determined to hold on to their privileges. The Coalition cannot expect any Africans to vote for them next month'."

On January 25, Sir F. Cavendish-Bentinck sent a letter to Mr. Gichuru (leader of K.A.N.U.) and Mr. Ngala (leader of K.A.D.U.) which said *inter alia*: "The decisive Coalition victory in every contested European primary seat has now created the opportunity of offering genuine co-operation between Europeans and Africans in accord with the Coalition declared policy and economic proposals. For the good of Kenya and in the interest of harmony and prosperity, which are of equal concern to all races, we express the hope that African political leaders will respect the wishes of the European community who have made it clear beyond doubt which men they trust and wish to represent them.

"A rejection of these candidates would be a severe setback to the wish of the European community to co-operate as a European minority through their own genuine representatives in the urgent problems of restoring both economic and political confidence in Kenya.

"Our policy statement clearly stated that we accept that the Africans will henceforth have a predominant majority in the Parliament of this country and that we are willing to support the process of constitutional evolution in an orderly and planned manner, which we understand is also the aim of the African leaders."

Common Roll Election

The successful candidates were as follows:

Nairobi East (1 Open Seat) T. J. Mboya (K.A.N.U.); *Nairobi South* (1 Asian Non-Muslim Reserved Seat) Mota Singh (Ind.); *Nairobi South West* (1 European Reserved Seat) W. B. Havelock (N.K.P.); *Nairobi West* (2 European Reserved Seats) E. L. Howard-Williams (Ind.), C. W. Salter (K.C.); *Nairobi Central* (2 Asian Non-Muslim Reserved Seats) K. P. Shah (K.F.P.), A. Jamidar (K.I.C.); *Nairobi North East* (1 Asian Muslim Reserved Seat) K. Zafrud Deen (Ind.); *Nairobi Suburban* (1 European Reserved Seat) R. S. Alexander (N.K.P.); *Kiambu* (1 Open Seat) J. S. Gichuru (K.A.N.U.), returned unopposed; *Nyeri* (1 Open Seat) J. Mathenge (K.A.N.U.), returned unopposed; *Embu* (1 Open Seat) J. Nyagah (K.A.N.U.); *Meru* (2 Open Seats) B. Mate, J. M. Angaine (K.A.N.U.); *Machakos* (2 Open Seats) H. N. Muli (K.A.N.U.), G. W. Nthenge (Ind., K.A.N.U.); *Kitui* (2 Open Seats) F. M. Mati (K.A.N.U.), E. N. Mwendwa (K.A.N.U.); *Kajiado* (1 Open Seat) J. Keen (K.A.D.U.), returned unopposed; *Narok* (1 Open Seat) J. K. Tipis (K.A.D.U.), returned unopposed; *North Nyanza* (2 Open Seats) M. Amalemba (Buluyia Political Union), E. Khasakhala (K.A.D.U.); *Elgon Nyanza* (1 Open Seat) M. Muliro (K.A.D.U.) returned unopposed; *Central Nyanza* (2 Open Seats) C. M. G. Argwings-Kodhek (K.A.N.U.), A. O. Odinga (K.A.N.U.); *Kisumu Town* (1 Asian Muslim and 1 Asian Non-Muslim Reserved Seat) I. E. Nathoo (Ind.), D. B. Kohli (K.I.C.); *South Nyanza* (1 Open Seat) S. A. Ayodo (K.A.N.U.); *Kisii* (1 Open Seat) L. G. Sagini (Ind.); *Kipsigis* (1 Open Seat) T. Towett (K.A.D.U.); *Kericho* (1 European Reserved Seat) Mrs. A. R. Shaw (N.K.P.); *Fort Hall* (2 Open Seats) Kariuki Njiri (K.A.N.U.), Dr. J. G. Kiano (K.A.N.U.); *Central Rural* (1 European Reserved Seat) P. Marrian (Ind.); *Rift Valley* (1 European Reserved Seat) M. Blundell (N.K.P.); *Nakuru Town* (1 Open Seat) W. Wabuge (K.A.D.U.); *West Kenya* (1 European Reserved Seat) L. R. M. Welwood (K.C.) returned unopposed; *North Kenya* (1 European Reserved Seat) D. Cole (K.C.) returned unopposed; *Baringo* (1 Open Seat) D. Arap Moi (K.A.D.U.); *Nandi* (1 Open Seat) M. J. Seroney (Ind.); *Elgeyo-Suk* (1 Open Seat) W. C. Murgor (K.A.D.U.); *Protectorate* (1 Arab Reserved Seat) O. S. Bassadiq (Ind.); *Tana and Lamu* (1 Open Seat)

A. M. Jeneby (Shunqwaya Freedom Party); *Kilifi* (1 Open Seat) R. G. Ngala (K.A.D.U.); *Kwale* (1 Open Seat) R. S. Matano (K.A.D.U.); *Taita* (1 Open Seat) D. Mwanyumba (K.A.N.U.); *Mombasa East* (1 European Reserved Seat) R. P. Cleasby (Ind.) returned unopposed; *Mombasa Tudor and Old Town* (1 Asian Muslim Reserved Seat) S. K. Anjarwalla (Ind.); *Mombasa Liwatoni* (1 Asian Non-Muslim Reserved Seat) A. J. Pandya (K.I.C.); *Mombasa Central* (1 Arab Reserved Seat) A. Nassir (Ind.); *Mombasa West* (1 Open Seat) T. M. Chokwe (K.A.N.U.); *Northern Province West* (1 Open Seat) P. A. Areman (Ind. K.A.N.U.); *Northern Province East* (1 Open Seat) A. A. Lord (Ind.) returned unopposed. (*Kenya Newsletter*, February 28.)

The final state of the parties was: K.A.N.U. 18; K.A.D.U. 12; New Kenya Party 4; Kenya Coalition 3; Kenya Indian Congress 3; Kenya Freedom Party 1; Kenya Muslim League 1; Independents 11. (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, March 9.)

Commenting on results *The Economist* (March 4) stated that Mr. Macleod could take comfort from Kenya, where his electoral prescription was beginning to have good effects. A month earlier the primary selections for the ten European reserved seats in the Legislative Council had brought out the most selfish side of the White voters' characters; having had their chance to blackball unacceptable candidates, they were bitter that the victory they had given Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck's Kenya Coalition was a futile one, almost certain to be reversed by African voters in the common roll elections. Moreover, large cracks had appeared in the leadership of the Kenya African National Union, and many began to doubt whether Mr. Tom Mboya was enough of a colossus to bestride them.

"There were few surprises in the results of the common roll elections. African agricultural workers voting in their thousands gave the victory to Mr. Michael Blundell, his New Kenya Party colleague, Mrs. Agnes Shaw, and the progressive Independent, Mr. Peter Marrian, in seats where their Coalition opponents had been far in the lead in the primaries. None of these was likely to forget to whom he owed his seat. But more useful still (for the N.K.P. was already in the habit of thinking non-racially), the need for Coalition candidates to canvass African votes—from their own farm labour and from the domestic servants in the suburbs—made them emphasize during the common roll elections what was wanted for Kenya, rather than for any single community.

"Mr. Mboya's overwhelming victory (a majority of 28,739), in the Nairobi seat, dominated by Kikuyu voters was equally gratifying. His four opponents tried all manner of tricks to pull him down: appeals to tribalism and a demand that he should pledge himself with them to surrender his seat to Jomo Kenyatta when the Kikuyu leader is allowed to return to politics. But Mr. Mboya's appeals to the crowd transcended tribalism. K.A.N.U. members received a salutary shock in Nakuru town, where, because they could not decide between a local candidate and a headquarters one, a mediocre opponent from the Kenya African Democratic Union had a narrow victory over the two. In recompense, an independent lawyer with leanings towards K.A.N.U. took a Kalenjin stronghold in Nandi. In the far south, both African parties showed their dislike for the policy of coastal autonomy by a completely effective boycott of the two Arab reserved seats, where the candidate had championed separatism. This might seem to herald racial tension on the coast, but everyone hopes that the problem will simply be settled inside a future East African Federation.

"The next stage was the forming of a Coalition Government, as prescribed, of four African, one Asian and three European elected ministers, and the co-opting of the twelve national members. This should strengthen the lead of the N.K.P. over the Kenya Coalition and also bring into the Legislative Council Mr. Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu who gave up his post as economics lecturer at Makerere College to become K.A.N.U.'s Executive Officer. It was to be hoped that the Government would be farsighted enough to offer Mr. Kibaki a senior treasury post and that Mr. Kibaki would feel that his election had been sufficiently popular for him to accept such a post.

It was announced that nomination day for the election of the twelve national members would be March 9, and the elections would be held on March 16. (*Kenya Newsletter*, February 14.)

K.A.N.U. Divisions

The *Daily Nation* (January 27) reported an attack made by K.A.N.U.'s vice-president, Mr. Oginga Odinga, on Mr. Gichuru, the president, and Mr. Mboya, the general secretary. Mr. Odinga accused Mr. Mboya of ruining K.A.N.U.'s plans for a three-day general strike to secure the release of Jomo Kenyatta, by announcing them prematurely. He added: "This conduct of Mboya has led to the rift between African Elected Members. It is a practice which Mboya has been indulging in since 1956."

He accused Mr. Gichuru of discourtesy in flying off to the All-Africa People's Conference Steering Committee meeting in Dar es Salaam without telling other K.A.N.U. officials, who were due to hold a K.A.N.U. Executive Committee meeting, which had to be cancelled. He then criticized the people of Central Province for failing to put up a candidate to oppose Mr. Gichuru for the Kiambu seat. By returning him unopposed they had sanctioned his signing of a document in 1954 calling for the continued detention of Mau Mau leaders, said Mr. Odinga. "By failing to provide an opponent they have watered down the campaign for the release of Jomo Kenyatta."

Mr. James Gichuru, president of the Kenya African National Union, announced on January 30 that he had suspended Mr. Oginga Odinga, for having created disunity, for supporting non-K.A.N.U. candidates for the election, and for having made pro-Communist statements which purported to come from the Party after his visits to Communist countries.

"He is deliberately working against K.A.N.U.'s manifesto which calls on Kenya to refrain from taking sides in the conflict between East and West and to adopt a policy of positive independence," Mr. Gichuru said. "He is influenced by the interests of Russia and China. We are determined not to allow another Congo to develop in Kenya by allowing foreign interference from the East or West before we have had an opportunity of consolidating our freedom under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta." (*East Africa and Rhodesia*, February 2.)

After a twelve-hour meeting of the K.A.N.U. governing council in Nairobi on February 3, a statement was issued saying that the suspension of Oginga Odinga had been declared unconstitutional "and is therefore null and void". The statement was signed by Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya.

The statement, which said the decision to reverse Mr. Odinga's suspension was unanimous, called on all officials "especially the president, general secretary and vice-president", to do their jobs more conscientiously and energetically. The statement confirmed that the president—subject to the provisions of the Constitution—had full disciplinary powers, and urged him to use them "much more energetically". It went on: "No personal disagreements between any officials shall be made public without the prior discussion of the issue by the Governing Council." The statement also said there was a lot of indiscipline and maladministration at the Party's head office.

It ended up by blaming "the colonialist-inspired newspapers who are trying to play up the so-called split in K.A.N.U. There is no split in K.A.N.U.," it said. (*Daily Nation*, February 4.)

In a statement after the election Mr. Mboya said that the first task was to rebuild K.A.N.U. and to heal the scars of recent disputes. He seemed to bear little enmity towards those who have tried so hard to bring him down, and expressed the hope that it would be possible to reunite the Party, excluding only those who have committed themselves beyond recall to his enemies. (*The Times*, March 1.)

Jomo Kenyatta

Leaders of the Kenya African National Union visited Government House on January 19 to take their campaign for the release of Jomo Kenyatta, the former Mau Mau leader, a stage farther. Mr. Gichuru led the delegation, which included Mr. Tom Mboya, the K.A.N.U. secretary-general, and Mr. M. Chokwe, a former detainee, who has risen to prominence within K.A.N.U.

The Government statement said that the Governor had listened to arguments put forward for Kenyatta's release, and had said that the delegation in London and this delegation "could not have made their feelings more clear". Sir Patrick Renison told the K.A.N.U. members that

he fully understood that responsibility for the decision in the Kenyatta case rested on his shoulders, and he was under no illusions about the importance of the issue to the future of Kenya. The official statement concluded: "But, having made that clear, his Excellency told those present that he had nothing to say on this issue at the present time." (*The Times*, January 20.)

The K.A.N.U. Governing Council announced that it would call for a three-day general strike and peaceful demonstrations on the first three days of February as part of its campaign for the release of Jomo Kenyatta. Mr. Tom Mboya, secretary-general of K.A.N.U., said that it was intended to ask all workers to stay at home for three days, to stage demonstrations outside Government House and provincial headquarters, to boycott buses and other public transport, and to abstain from food and drink. The rival K.A.D.U. denounced Mr. Mboya's appeal as an electioneering stunt. (*The Times*, January 25.)

The trade unions also denounced the strike and it did not take place. The *Kenya Weekly News* (February 3) described this as a sharp rebuff for Mr. Mboya.

The Times (February 14) stated that the New Kenya Party seemed to have dropped its opposition to Kenyatta's release in the near future. Mr. R. S. Alexander, a N.K.P. candidate for Nairobi Suburban, stated as a matter of acceptable fact that Kenyatta would be released. Speaking to an African audience on the edge of Nairobi, he said that he would serve in a government with Kenyatta, provided that Kenyatta served the interests of all groups. If Kenyatta failed in this, Mr. Alexander went on, it would be Africans themselves who would throw him out.

Mr. I. E. Nathoo, Minister for Works and Independent candidate for an Asian Reserved Seat, said in Kisumu that he would be willing to serve in a government of which Kenyatta was chief minister. Mr. Peter Marrian, a European Independent who has the tacit blessing of N.K.P., said much the same in more careful terms. Mr. Marrian was standing for the constituency Central Rural, which although a reserved European seat, is dominated by a Kikuyu electorate.

On February 19 some 7,000 Africans cheered Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party, when he addressed them from the back of a lorry at an election meeting at South Kinangop in the White Highlands. It was the largest attendance of Africans at any meeting during Mr. Blundell's election campaign for the Rift Valley seat. Asked if he would serve with Kenyatta, Mr. Blundell said that if Kenyatta's policies were beneficial to Kenya no one could have any objection to his being in the Government. (*The Times*, February 20.)

After the elections, on March 1, the Governor of Kenya issued a statement which said: ". . . I have resisted the pressures to reveal my intentions about Jomo Kenyatta during the political campaigning for the election. I intend to remain outside politics. But, of course, I realize that I cannot form a government without telling those with whom I hope to work what I am going to do about Kenyatta, whose magnified image now stands across our path, and in the absence of a decision, prevents any certain planning for a constructive future free of fear. . . .

"It is not my view that Jomo Kenyatta should be kept in restriction indefinitely. I do not, however, propose to release him until the new Government is working well and until I think that the security risk can be accepted and contained and that the danger which his return presents to the economy and administration and to our whole constitutional progress towards early independence has been minimized. . . .

"I issued a statement about Jomo Kenyatta on May 10, 1960. Nothing has happened since to make me wish that I had worded the statement or any part of it differently. In the last paragraph I said that the door was not shut and I asked people to work actively to bring to an end the divisions and personal fears among the Kikuyu peoples and other people in Kenya and to produce an atmosphere of stable political achievement on the Lancaster House pattern. I think that with the help of all my Ministers and many others we have made considerable progress in this respect. But I do not think that we have yet gone far enough to justify the security risk of Jomo Kenyatta's release, even if as we all know he is not eligible by the constitutional law to be elected a Member of the Legislative Council and thereby to take an elected part in the Government. There are two things in particular which have prevented the greater progress which might have justified the risk of his release by this date. One has been the political campaign for his release which has roused many emotions and which has not allowed divisions and personal fears a natural atmosphere in which to diminish. The other has been the refusal of Jomo Kenyatta himself to make any statement or reveal his thinking about the great issues which Kenya is facing, although in August I sent six of my Ministers, including three African Ministers, to Lodwar to give him the opportunity of speaking.

"Jomo Kenyatta has been in good health at Lodwar and is well informed on what is happening in Kenya and the world. Nevertheless, Lodwar is in a very remote area and I intend now to remove him to Maralal. It is also my intention to allow more people to visit him. I think the first should be representatives of my new Council of Ministers. I would be ready for them to have access to him and to the few others remaining in restriction or detention." (*Colonial Information Department*, March 1.)

Dr. J. G. Kiano, the Minister of Commerce and Industry, announced his resignation immediately after the Governor's statement. Mr. James Gichuru and Mr. Tom Mboya and Mr. Ronald Ngala and Mr. Masinde Muliro issued a joint statement regretting the Governor's decision. The two K.A.D.U. leaders emphasized that they were not committed to Kenyatta becoming Kenya's first Chief Minister.

The K.A.N.U. leaders have repeatedly demanded Kenyatta's unconditional release as a prerequisite of their participation in the Government. Mr. Mboya, in his first speech since his victory in Nairobi East, made a point of repeating the demands—"before there is a head-on crash between us and the Governor". He did not want to throw down a challenge, he said, but Kenyatta's release would help towards stability, peace, and cooperation in Kenya. (*The Times*, March 2.)

On March 3, the Governor announced that Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya and Mr. Ngala and Mr. Muliro were to have talks with Kenyatta. (*Guardian*, March 4.)

On March 4, the participation in the delegation of the two K.A.N.U. leaders was vetoed after vehement objections at a meeting of the eighteen M.L.C.s who support K.A.N.U. The K.A.N.U. parliamentary group also passed a resolution that its members would not take part in a new Government until Kenyatta was released unconditionally.

Mr. Mboya said the Party's decision not to take part in the Government was "irrevocable" and added: "Kenya faces a grave crisis because of the Governor's Kenyatta decision." Mr. Mboya accused Sir Patrick of being "obstinate" and of listening to bad advice when he could have averted the crisis if he had shown "a little understanding". Asked if K.A.N.U. would join the Government if Kenyatta wished it, Mr. Mboya said he did not think it would. There would be no way of proving that Kenyatta had not expressed the wish under duress. K.A.N.U. would not seek Kenyatta's opinion on the question of participating in the Government, as to do so would be wrong in principle.

Mr. Gichuru called on Mr. Macleod to visit Kenya to review the situation precipitated by the Governor's decision. (*The Times*, March 6.)

Mr. Ngala and Mr. Muliro visited Jomo Kenyatta on March 8 and reported that Kenyatta had at no time indicated that he wished to be the Chief Minister of Kenya. They found Kenyatta fit and thought him physically and mentally capable of taking part in the political leadership. Mr. Ngala found Kenyatta, who said that he was 71, shrewd, intelligent, and active. Kenyatta had no resentment against the British Government over his restriction, and was not bitter against the people of other races. He wanted Africans to have a united front on national issues and regretted that K.A.N.U. had not joined in the visit. He made it plain that he did not side with either K.A.N.U. or K.A.D.U.

Mr. Ngala claimed that Kenyatta had declared himself disgusted with the use made of his name and the unfulfilled promises made on his behalf. The delegation did not seek Kenyatta's advice on the question of K.A.D.U.'s forming a government. They did not discuss the question of Africans taking Ministries, because they expected K.A.N.U. to form a Government. Kenyatta "wants to be free," Mr. Ngala said. He added: "He was surprised that everybody seemed to want to be a member of the Legislative Council—people outside could be just as good politicians." (*The Times*, March 9.)

Financial Crisis

Gordon Maclean writing for the *O.F.N.S.* (February 24) stated that since the Lancaster House Conference "finance has been steadily draining from Kenya. Investors, fearful after the example of the Congo, have held back large sums of money that had been earmarked for development projects, including a large-scale hydro-electricity scheme. Altogether the loss of capital is nearly £12 million and whether it dries up or not depends upon how the new Government sets about running the country's affairs on the last lap before self-government.

"But the flight of capital was only one aspect of the grave financial crisis demanding solution. The British-appointed Flemming Commission to inquire into Civil Servants' salaries, particularly those of the British expatriate staff, delivered a shock. Under new terms recommended by the Commission, the Kenya Government's wages bill will rise by £2 million a year, half of which will be found by the British Government, as this will be its share in respect of the expatriates' increase, but one year's back-dated increases will cost Kenya almost another £1 million. The heavy wages commitment was, however, foreseen by the Treasury officials in Nairobi. But not even Treasury officials had bargained for the bitterest blow of all—again resulting from recommendations by a British-appointed commission. This was the one headed by the deputy chairman of Lloyds Bank, Sir Jeremy Raisman.

"The Commission found that Kenya had gained far more than did either Tanganyika or Uganda from the Common Market which makes East Africa a fairly unified economic unit of 25 million potential consumers, most of whom are only now realizing the need for a wide range of manufactured items as they switch from a subsistence to a cash economy.

"The 'adjustment' recommended by the Raisman Commission is a formula by which the three territories set up a monetary pool, consisting of income and customs revenue, to finance the East African High Commission's very useful common services. . . .

"Kenya has been puzzled by apparent inconsistencies in the Report's recommendations. In one paragraph the Commission says the Colony has not benefited unfairly from East Africa's economic growth, while in the next it states that Kenya should pay out as a sort of penalty for expanding too much and too quickly. Certainly both Tanganyika and Uganda feel extremely pleased that Kenya should pay for the privilege of being East Africa's acknowledged commercial capital, besides the hub of its air network. But if Kenya were to refuse to pay up, it would be tantamount to contracting out of the East Africa unit, thus dashing all hopes of an ultimate East African Federation.

"It seems that Kenyans will either have to tighten their belts and face up to increased taxation, or put into cold storage the many plans for development including African education and the settlement of African farmers. The newly-elected African politicians who have been returned on grandiose promises to relatively unsophisticated voters will find it difficult to explain the hard economic facts of life."

Education

The Royal College

The Royal Technical College of Nairobi has been renamed the Royal College.

Previously the R.T.C. offered courses qualifying students for professional diplomas in engineering and architecture while, in the Faculties of Arts and Science, students were taken up to entry to degree courses in Britain. Now they will be able to read for the degrees of B.A., and B.Sc. of the University of London, with which there is a special relationship. For the present, students entering with School Certificates will be able to continue preparation for the Higher School Certificate but their numbers should decrease with wider secondary school facilities over the years.

Training will also be offered for the recognized professional diplomas in architecture, surveying, teacher training for domestic science and commerce. The opening of new halls of residence by the Governor completed the first stage in providing the planned increase of student population from 340 to 800 within the next five years. (*East African Standard*, January 27.)

Racial Integration

Delamere Boys' High School, Nairobi, has admitted two Africans and three Asians. It is the first European secondary school to admit Non-European pupils.

A statement issued by the governors said it was felt that once the principle of admission for children of other races had been agreed, it would not be proper to delay the implementation of the decision and to deny entry to suitably qualified students, especially as places were available to them in Delamere Boys' High School. (*East African Standard*, January 13.)

Somali Republic

Border Incidents

THE Government of Somalia has addressed a note to British and other Governments setting out its account of the recent clashes between frontier posts and Somaliland tribesmen, whose herds graze in Ethiopia, under the system of migratory grazing rights agreed between Britain and Ethiopia before British Somaliland became independent. There was no suggestion that the British Government should take action. (*The Times*, January 7.)

Abdi Rizak Haji Hussain, Somali Minister of the Interior, said that the Somali Government had suspended the transit of petrol from northern Somalia to the Ethiopian frontier authorities because the petrol was being used by Ethiopia on "aggressive missions against Somali". The Minister said that the reply from Ethiopia to the Somali protest would determine what steps his Government would take to bring the matter to the attention of the United Nations.

During his visit to the Northern Region, Abdi Rizak Haji Hussain addressed crowds in towns and border settlements, appealing for forbearance and confidence in the Government's handling of the matter. He added that 123 Somali had been killed and thirty-six wounded in the clashes. It was believed that several hundred wounded were still in the Danot area and unable to get out. (*The Times*, January 10.)

Mr. Ali Abdullah, secretary-general of the Somali National Movement group of Somali political parties, suggested in Nairobi that war between the Somali Republic and Ethiopia over the disputed Haud border area might be imminent. He claimed that Ethiopian attacks in the border area were "a chain of provocation hitting at the Somali Republic". He said that many of the recent attacks had been by marauding Ethiopian rebel troops who had received no money or rations since the abortive palace uprising last month. They had attacked the Somali nomads' cattle and killed anyone who protested or defended his stock. There had been earlier attacks, notably in September when 500 men, women, and children were killed in two villages by Ethiopian troops.

He said that the Ethiopian Government had not yet replied to a Somali Government protest alleging "inhuman brutality" and massacres by its troops. "We do not want war, but the Government of Addis Ababa is pushing us too far," he concluded. "We may have to fight back." (*The Times*, January 21.)

Commenting on the situation *The Times* (January 21) said that the scale of these clashes—let alone responsibility for them—is hard to determine. The area is remote, communications are poor, and inevitably there are at least two versions of every incident. Indeed, if Somali accounts are accurate, and there have been more than 100 deaths, "incident" may be too mild a word. It concluded: "The Somali Republic became independent at the same moment as the Congo. Both countries were faced with problems which at best were bound to tax their human resources to the utmost. The Somalis have talked of bringing a complaint to the United Nations, and had the United Nations a happier record to look back on in the Congo there would be something to be said at least for a mission to find out exactly what is happening. Such a step may have to be taken in any case. Independence brings into the open Africa's latent conflicts, but so far neither United Nations nor Pan-African conferences have found a way of dealing with them."

Sudan

Economic Development

AN article in *The Economist* (February 18) stated that Sudanese economic development was entering a new phase. The country's finances, which

were in a bad way when the army assumed power in 1958, have been put on a sound footing. The low level of the reserves in 1958 was not wholly the fault of the parliamentary régime which the army overthrew. Unfavourable world market conditions for cotton, the country's biggest export, had resulted in a carry-over of cotton stocks for two successive years; the foreign exchange position suffered accordingly. But in the year after the army assumed power, the world market for cotton improved, and the whole of the Sudan's accumulated stock was sold. Reserves rose from £S20 million in 1958 to nearly £S46 million in 1959, and stood last September at more than £S61 million. There has since been a slight decline, but this was seasonal.

The emphasis now is not on saving money, but on spending it. General Abboud has announced a seven-year plan to cost some £S240 million. The plan included such projects as the Roseires Dam to store the water allocated to the Sudan under the 1959 Nile Waters Agreement with Egypt; the development of the Khashm el Girba region to accommodate the people of Wadi Halfa, whose present home is to be engulfed by the waters of the High Dam; the extension of the railway and road network; the erection of two new sugar factories and the establishment of jute and plywood industries; and increases in cotton, wheat and rice production. Money for much of this work would be needed from abroad. The West Germans have agreed to lend $23 million for the Roseires Dam provided that the World Bank supplies the remaining $40 million needed to complete the project. The World Bank was also considering a loan to the Sudanese Railways.

The Sudanese balance of trade was satisfactory, so far as can be judged from the figures for the first ten months of 1960. The fat surplus of more than £17 million for the corresponding period of 1959, arising partly from the disposal of cotton surpluses, was not repeated. But there was still a visible balance of nearly £S4 million in favour of the Sudan. Britain came easily first in the lists of both imports and exports. The Russian share in Sudanese trade was increasing rapidly, but it started from a very low level. A new agreement just negotiated in Moscow was expected to double the volume of Soviet-Sudanese trade in the coming year. Even so, the Sudan's trade with Russia was unlikely to be as much as a sixth of its trade with Britain. A stir was caused by a report that the Soviet-Sudanese agreement included the supply of Soviet ammunition, but it died down when it was officially announced that the word "ammunition" had been a mistranslation for the Arabic "equipment". The Minister of Commerce emphatically denied that his representatives in Moscow had any authority to negotiate arms deals.

The article concluded by stating that the general feeling among Western observers was that the Sudan offered the foreign investor about his best bet in Africa. The Sudanese Government might not be conspicuous for the originality of its economic ideas. But it was unlikely to do anything silly like frightening off foreign capital by threats or acts of nationalization. Naturally, foreign firms would not have it all their own way. Recent legislation has, for instance, shown a trend towards Sudanization of industry and commerce; no foreigner may now be employed if there was a qualified Sudanese to take his place. Such measures were inevitable in the present atmosphere but they did not in themselves stop the foreign investor getting a return on his money.

University and Government

A correspondent writes: "The University Khartoum developed from the old Gordon Memorial College, which was for long the Sudan's only secondary school, has a special place in the affections of Sudanese, whatever their politics, and its independence of Government control has up to now been jealously guarded. Last November, when the military were celebrating the second anniversary of their seizure of power, the University was sealed off and several of the thousand students roughly handled in their hostels by the police. The Vice-Chancellor's protests led to withdrawal of the police but the military have since been studying means of closer control.

"This latest move (under an amendment to the University Act empowering the Military Government to appoint the Vice-Chancellor and members of the University Council) follows a request, in remarkably polite terms, for the restoration of democratic liberties and the return of the army to its barracks. The signatories of the request, who included members of the University Council, have not been imprisoned but are being penalized: two former Prime Ministers have lost their pensions; foreign firms have been advised not to employ the lawyers who signed; the leading daily newspaper, *Al Ayam*, owned and edited by the only journalist among the signatories, was shut down.

"The request for the end of military rule reflected widespread disappointment at the long-awaited constitutional reforms announced in November. These reforms provide only for province executive councils made up entirely of Civil Servants and province councils to be presided over by military governors and consisting of appointed members 'for the time being'. Meantime all local councils have been dissolved.

"Acceptance of military rule in the Sudan has so far been buoyed up by the remarkable economic recovery of the past two years, due to rapid sales of cotton at satisfactory prices. Uncertainty about the current cotton crop, hard-hit in its early stages of growth by jassid fly infection, may lessen the economic compensations which the Sudanese have been able to count against their continued lack of liberty under 'emergency' regulations stringently enforced in November 1958 and in operation ever since."

Tanganyika

Overseas Aid

A Swiss mission arrived in Dar es Salaam on January 23 for discussions with the Acting Minister of Finance, Mr. Amir Jamal. Matters connected with possible fields of technical assistance to Tanganyika by the Swiss Government were discussed, and the leader of the mission, Mr. Messmer, expressed the hope of the Swiss Government that it would be able to make available technical assistance in a number of fields.

Herr Leonhord Stitz-Ulrici of the Dresdner Bank of Dusseldorf, told the Arusha Chamber of Commerce that West Germany Government money would shortly be made available for development projects in Tanganyika. He pointed out that he and the other members of his mission were there to investigate the ways and means by which private investors in Germany might be interested in taking part in the expansion of trade and industries which must follow the West German Government's lead. Herr Stitz-Ulrici said it was thought in Germany that conditions in East Africa were not favourable for private investors at the present time, and the recent flight of capital from Kenya had heightened this impression. He and the other members of his mission had, however, been greatly impressed by the feeling of confidence which they had found among businessmen in Tanganyika, and by the efforts which were being made to develop the country. It was impossible to believe that these efforts would not continue into the future. (*Tanganyika Information Services*, January 24.)

Mr. Julius Nyerere, the Chief Minister leading a Government delegation visiting the Federal Republic of Germany, told an audience in Cologne on January 24, that in return for technical and capital assistance "we in Tanganyika have something to offer in return, as neighbours of the developed countries of the world.

"The Government of Tanganyika solemnly recognizes its obligations towards investors, to respect their investment and to encourage them to bring their capital, enterprise, and skill—in their interests and in our interests—to Tanganyika. We shall, of course, welcome Government to Government assistance whether by way of grant aid or loans or technical assistance, but we are not just asking for charity. We are asking the developed countries of the world, and the businesses and institutions which are set up in those countries, to look to Tanganyika for opportunities to develop their business. We offer them a fair deal and we shall give all reasonable encouragement to their endeavours.

"I want to emphasize that our desire for peace and independence is genuine and strong. We want our friends all over the world to realize that we do not want our need for assistance to be exploited in involving us in quarrels of power politics. We do not want to mortgage our freedom; we have no intention of exchanging our birthright for a piece of bread. We hope, therefore, that the more developed countries of the world will look

upon the problems of the developing countries of Africa as a challenge to all men of goodwill throughout the world and not an opportunity for them to score points against each other in the struggle for the domination of the human race by one group or the other."

The Chief Minister paid tribute to "those dedicated men and women" who, since David Livingstone's call to missionaries to go to Africa and help eradicate the misery he found there, had responded to that call. The challenge today was the same as it was 100 years ago—indeed it was greater. Mr. Nyerere added: "So, I call upon men and women of goodwill to come as teachers, and as doctors, and as nurses, and as research workers, and as technical experts, to give us their assistance in the cause of humanity." (*Tanganyika Information Service*, January 25.)

In London, Sir Ernest Vasey, Minister of Finance, stated that he had good hopes of a substantial grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to be used in founding an agricultural college in Tanganyika. Sir Ernest had talks with the Rockefeller Foundation and with representatives of the World Bank, the International Development Association, and the United Nations Special Fund during a recent visit to the United States.

The United Nations Special Fund was sending officials to Tanganyika to examine the possibilities of development in a wide field, and Sir Ernest believed this examination would almost certainly be followed by further substantial financial aid. From the Development Loan Fund he had secured £1,900,000 for the building of a road from Mwanza to Musoma. Further help would probably be forthcoming from America for agricultural and educational projects. Already American teachers are going to Tanganyika under an agreement. The talks recently concluded in Germany are likely to result in the visit of a German mission to Tanganyika to examine possible openings for development. (*The Times*, February 2.)

World Bank Mission

The *Kenya Weekly News* (February 24) stated that the long-awaited report of the World Bank Survey Mission was cautious, objectives set out were modest, and the country's ability to raise the finance for development programmes was carefully assessed. Only gradual development expansion was recommended. As expected, the main emphasis was laid on the expansion of agricultural output, and the importance of water development. The report envisaged Tanganyika's capital budget rising from the £6,200,000 shown for 1964–5 to about £10 million in 1969–70 and subsequent years.

The report mentioned no specific major project, quite obviously for the reason that it could not do so without being equally specific on sources of capital of such a high order as, for example, to finance the Rufiji Basin Scheme. The "rather gradual increase" of capital expenditure suggested was founded on two main considerations—the lack of any assured source of grants to replace the present Colonial Development and Welfare funds from Britain when they were exhausted, and the need to keep the margin of borrowing capacity in hand in anticipation of an increase in water development works and other projects.

The report stated that Tanganyika would be quite justified in borrowing the sums required to support the gradual increase suggested, provided the loans were available on reasonably favourable terms. The Government should shape its policies on the assumption that such loans would in fact be available.

On water development, the report suggested that preparations should be made for an expanded programme of irrigation and flood control works to reach a scale of 25,000 acres a year by 1969–70.

The *Kenya Weekly News* concluded by stating that the "most significant recommendation of the World Bank Mission was that suggesting more productive use of land by efficient farms of economic size to justify the injection of capital. Link with this the recommendation that the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation should bid for estates which come on the market, and accept responsibility for agricultural partnership schemes, and we have the beginning of agricultural nationalization in this country. In the absence of new private investment it is possibly the only solution of the problem.

"It is suggested that the assets of the T.A.C. be vested in the Government, so that there will inevitably follow a considerable degree of Government control. The Mission's recommendation dovetails to some extent with ideas already expressed by some Government Ministers on planned new settlements, perhaps on the Israeli pattern, under Government supervision. Some idea of the task facing the country can be seen in figures quoted by the Mission on capital expenditure since 1956–7 and envisaged up to 1965–6. The average rate of increase over the eight years is less than 3 per cent a year."

Education

The Minister for Education, Mr. Oscar Kambona, has said that he needs 100 teachers a year for secondary schools in Tanganyika, and that he hoped 150 American teachers would be coming to East Africa soon, many of them to Tanganyika. On the question of integration, Mr. Kambona said that all European and Indian schools in Tanganyika would be open to pupils of all races with effect from 1962.

Some idea of the immense task facing Government was given in the Minister's figures of primary teachers required in the near future. In 1962 he would need 400 Grade II teachers, another 400 in 1963, and in 1964 and 1965 the demand will be for 800 each year. In time, the Middle School system will be abolished, and a Standard I–VIII primary school education will replace it.

Uganda

Buganda's Future

THE Buganda Lukiko met on January 18 to hear the Kabaka's reply to the report of Buganda's Independence Committee which had been submitted to him for approval. Interest centred on the proposal to elect two new Ministers—one for Foreign Affairs and the other for Trade, Commerce and Communications—to the so-called "independent" Buganda Government. It was announced that he had accepted the report, but because of Buganda's financial position, it was proposed that the Premier, Mr. Michael Kintu, should take on the Foreign Affairs portfolio and the Minister of Natural Resources, Mr. Leonard Bassudde, should also become Minister of Trade, Commerce and Communications. (*Guardian*, January 19.)

The Acting Governor immediately wrote to the Katikiro: "As regards the proposed addition of Foreign Affairs to the portfolio of the Katikiro, and of Trade, Industry, Commerce and Communications to the portfolio of the Minister of Natural Resources, the Governor wishes me to point out to you at once that he is unable to recognize that the Katikiro has any responsibility for Foreign Affairs. Responsibility for that subject in respect of Buganda rests solely with Her Majesty's Government. Similarly, the Government is unable to recognize that the Minister of Natural Resources has any additional powers and responsibilities in respect of Trade, Commerce, Industry and Communications beyond those already exercised by the Kabaka's Government—for example, responsibility for the maintenance of minor roads in Buganda."

Government had issued a statement earlier which said that the public should bear in mind that the independence resolution passed by the Lukiko on December 31 had already been disallowed by the Governor and that resolution can therefore have no effect. Buganda remained an integral part of the Protectorate and the approval of the independence committee's report by the Kabaka made no difference to the position. (*Uganda News*, January 20.)

The Governor warned Buganda Ministers that they were exposing their territory to serious danger. It would be impossible, he said, to resume talks on Buganda's future against a background of intimidation, violence, or disorder. The Governor's warning was contained in a statement read to the Lukiko after a meeting between Sir Frederick Crawford and Buganda Ministers on February 8.

The Governor declared that both he and the Secretary of State for the Colonies considered that Buganda's unilateral secession and independence would be "quite unrealistic" and to the detriment not only of Buganda but also the rest of Uganda. They did not recognize the claim to independence and any action taken in breach of the law would be met with the full force of the law.

The door had not been closed to further constitutional talks, however, and the first task of the Kabaka's Government and others in Buganda would be to give evidence to the Relationships Commission. The most important thing was to ensure sound relationships between Buganda and other parts of the country. (*The Times*, February 9.)

The Lukiko sent a telegram to Mr. Macmillan, protesting that the British plan for the future political development of Uganda is unacceptable to Buganda. The message said the plan that Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was trying to impose on Buganda had created an atmosphere of profound unrest in the kingdom. The telegram to Mr. Macmillan declared that there was a danger of a Congo situation in Buganda if Britain declined to hand back the kingdom's powers "as soon as we want them". The Lukiko also passed a resolution rejecting the official statement on the talks between Sir Frederick Crawford and Buganda Ministers. (*The Times*, February 13.)

The Kabaka of Buganda's Government issued a statement telling people to keep the peace, particularly during the time of the elections of representative members to the Legislative Council. They were warned to keep away from polling stations if they had nothing to do with the election.

The statement added that the Lukiko had already declared that those people who will be standing for election would not represent Buganda (as the Lukiko has always refused to send representatives to Legislative Council, and has called on the people of Buganda not to participate in the elections). (*Uganda News*, February 18.)

The Elections

After nomination day it was announced that the Democratic Party had the biggest number of candidates, seventy-eight, followed by the Uganda People's Congress, sixty-six; Uganda National Congress, twenty-two; Uganda Hereditary Chieftaincy Party, four; Uganda Africa Union, one; and Independents, twenty-seven. Six Democrats and two U.P.C. candidates were unopposed, including the leader of the U.P.C., Mr. A. M. Obote. The leader of the Democratic Party, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, will be opposed by a U.P.C. opponent in North East Masaka. Election results are expected on March 25. (*Uganda News*, February 27.)

The Democratic Party won an over-all majority. With three results still to come in, the Democrats had forty-two seats; People's Congress, thirty-three; Independents, two; and National Congress, one. (*Observer*, March 26.)

Boycott of Non-African Traders[1]

On February 14 in the Legislative Council the Chief Secretary, Mr. G. B. Cartland, gave details of how many Asian traders had closed their trading shops in rural towns and trading centres in Buganda since the start of the boycott in that province of Non-African (particularly Asian) goods. The boycott has now ended. He said that a full survey of gazetted trading centres in Mengo District in November 1960, revealed the following figures:

Asian traders present before the boycott movement started	474
Asian traders present in May 1960	262
Asian traders present on November 15, 1960 ..	225

This meant, he said, that about 48 per cent of the Asian traders present in these centres before the boycott began had moved away by November 1960. He added that about 30 per cent of those who had closed their businesses in Buganda had settled in Kampala, 15 per cent had gone to India, 10 per cent had gone to Kenya and Tanganyika, and the rest had gone to other places in Uganda. (*Uganda News*, February 16.)

Zanzibar

Coalition Government

AFTER the general election in January[2] the leaders of the two largest political parties were asked in turn to form a coalition Government. Neither party succeeded and so Sir George Mooring, the British Resident decided to appoint a caretaker Government in which the function of Chief Minister would be exercised by the Civil Secretary, who in the former Government was known as the Chief Secretary. The two main political groups, the Nationalist and the Afro-Shirazi Parties, were asked to nominate two members each for the four Ministries to be allocated by His Excellency.

The Afro-Shirazi group nominated Abeid Karume, president of the Afro-Shirazi Party, and Ali Shariff Musa of the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party who had pledged his support to their group. The Nationalists nominated Ali Muhsin Barwani, president of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, and Mohamed Shamte Hamadi, M.B.E., president of the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party, who had pledged his support to their group.

It was emphasized by His Excellency that the life of this caretaker Government would not exceed six months and that another general election will be held in June.

The Nationalist Party were still awaiting the result of their petition to the High Court regarding the one vote majority of the successful candidate in a Pemba constituency. They felt that if their petition was successful and the Nationalist candidate was awarded the seat, they would then be in a position to form a Government and that the caretaker Government would be dissolved. The Nationalist Party was not in favour of another general election, for they stated that this election cost them a great deal of money and that they could ill afford a similar expenditure within such a short space of time. They agreed, however, that with the present situation of complete deadlock, another general election would be the fairest solution.

The Afro-Shirazi group were of the opinion that another election was the only solution, but they still felt that they have been cheated out of their victory by not being allowed to form a government themselves. (*Kenya Weekly News*, February 17.)

SOUTHERN AFRICA
High Commission Territories

Basuto Congress Split

BOTH the main political parties, the Basutoland Congress Party and the Marema Tlou Party, have recently suffered serious splits. The Paramount Chief, Moshoeshoe II, and Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle, president-general of the Congress Party, have been given bodyguards after a murderous assault on Mr. Mokhehle and a clash between his supporters and the villagers of the Paramount Chief's village when the Congressmen were driven away with sticks and clubs.

The split in the Congress Party is the most important of all these happenings. Mr. O. P. Phoofolo, the Party's chairman, and fourteen Reef members, including veteran freedom fighter Mrs. Ellen Molapo, came down to the Annual Conference which was held here December 24–27 determined to push for a change in the Party's leadership. Mr. Mokhehle had them expelled.

Then it came to Mr. Mokhehle's notice that there had been a move to replace him with Mr. B. M. Khaketla, deputy leader of the Party and editor of *Mohlabani*. Mr. Mokhehle, before the elections for the new executive, made a speech which contained veiled references to Mr. Khaketla. Mr. Mokhehle warned the Party to be careful to elect men who would give their whole time to the Party and not to be misled by a man's eloquence or his good clothes. Despite the warning Mr. Khaketla was re-elected as deputy leader and with the exception of Mr. Phoofolo the whole executive was re-elected *en bloc*.

After these elections Mr. Mokhehle made further remarks which criticized leaders of the Party who kept company with Government, who have secrets with the imperialist oppressors, or who talk of going to church when they have to do national service. "Such leaders can very well pray as they go along to serve the people," he said. Everyone took these

[1] DIGESTS VII, 1, 2, 3, 6; VIII, 1. [2] DIGEST VIII, 4.

remarks as being aimed at Mr. Khaketla. Later Mr. Khaketla resigned from the Congress Party. Heavy as will be the loss of Phoofolo the resignation of Mr. Khaketla has dealt the Congress Party a heavy blow.

As a brilliant editor and theoretician he served the Congress Party well and in March 1960 he was elected to the new Basutoland Executive Council as Member (Minister) for Education and Health.

Mr. Khaketla's differences with the Congress Party are purely differences over methods. He fully endorsed the aims of the Party which were given clear definition at the Christmas conference. The principal resolution at this conference called on members to work for responsible government so that during the 1964 elections it would be possible for parties to contest a majority of seats and for the country to have an executive responsible to the Legislature.

There is a widespread anxiety among the Basuto that these political disagreements should remain political and should not degenerate into gangster violence. If they so degenerate themselves then the new constitution which is the prize of this small people would be endangered and a light of freedom might falter for the Basuto and even more importantly for the whole of Southern Africa. (*Contact*, January 14.)

Basuto Congress Demand

The Basutoland Congress Party announced its intention of starting a campaign for the return to Basutoland of that part of Orange Free State known as the "conquered territory". It was ceded by the treaty of Thaba Bosigo in April 1866, after Boer forces had defeated the Basuto.

The cession of the territory was a bitter blow to the Basuto, as it included a great part of their most fertile corn lands, and it has remained a grievance. Only recently however, has it been suggested at all seriously that anything could be done about it.

The Times (February 18) said: "Observers find it difficult to believe that the British Government would seriously consider a proposal that it should ask for the return of a 'conquered territory' from the Union Government which has for many years wanted to incorporate Basutoland and other High Commission Territories of Swaziland and Bechuanaland Protectorate. Nor is any South African Government ever likely to agree.

"There can be no doubt, however, of the idea's sentimental appeal to the Basuto and its value as part of the programme of a strongly nationalist party such as that led by Mr. Mokhehle."

Refugees in Basutoland

Two more batches of refugees have entered Basutoland, which has become the chief place of asylum for African fugitives since Mrs. Mafeking, the Paarl trade union leader, popularized it more than a year ago. The latest arrivals are a batch of eleven led by Mr. Nyaka Tsolo, who was secretary of the Sharpeville branch of the Pan-African Congress at the time of the shootings last March, and ten former Pan-Africanists who are facing charges of incitement and public violence.

Their cases, arising from Sharpeville, are due to be heard at Vereeniging, and more of those accused in this matter are expected to be on their way to this British protectorate. Recently a batch, the total number of which is unknown, slipped across the high mountain passes from Pondoland.

These arrivals follow the escape from the Union early this year of of Mr. Philip Kgosana, the Cape Town student who led the Nyanga march, and four others facing trial in the Cape. Mr. Kgosana is believed to be on his way to Tanganyika and his four friends are in Dar-es-Salaam. (*The Times*, February 27.)

Bechuanaland People's Party

Founded a few months ago, the Bechuanaland Peoples' Party, with Mr. K. T. Motsete as president, and Mr. Motsanai Mpho, former member of the African National Congress, as secretary-general, is multi-racial and plans to achieve its objects by non-violent means. The Party aims to lead the territory to self-rule and eventual independence.

In a statement to *Contact*, Mr. Motsete said: "Our attitude in connexion with the proposed law for the Legislative Council for Bechuanaland is critical, and our criticism is being formulated for presentation to the Resident Commissioner." (The new law could give Whites and Africans equal numbers of seats in the Legislative Council.)

"We are multi-racial and all races are welcome as members of our Party on the same footing. We hope to achieve our objects by constitutional means: by outspoken criticism, by resolution, by protests and public demonstrations." (*Contact*, February 11.)

R.S.T. Plans for Bechuanaland

The *African Mail* (December 27) said that Sir Ronald Prain, chairman of Rhodesian Selection Trust, had agreed that African directors will be appointed to any mining company formed in the Bamangwato area of Bechuanaland. It is thought to be the first time any big organization in Southern Africa has pledged itself to appoint African directors. In East Africa, this step has already been taken by leading oil companies.

This revolutionary move by Sir Ronald is part of a mineral concession agreement made between R.S.T. and the Bamangwato Tribal Authority.

The Bamangwato will get 15 per cent in royalties, and a direct shareholding in the company. R.S.T. has also promised to train the Bamangwato for leading jobs as well as appointing Africans to the Board. . . .

Also sharing in the prospecting are Nicket Mond of Canada and Minerals Separation of London. Minerals proved to exist in Bechuanaland include gold, silver, asbestos, manganese, copper, nickel and coal. But only scientific surveys can show whether they are worth commercial working.

Development of Bechuanaland Swamp

The Batawana tribe of the Okavango swamp, Bechuanaland, has offered a two-year prospecting concession to the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company. The concession allows the mining concern to prospect 20,000 square miles of territory—some of it has never been mapped—to the south and west of the swamp area.

J.C.I. has heard rumours that there are diamond and gold deposits there. The geologists under Mr. C. F. Vermaak will establish a camp in the semi-desert. Four or five of them will live there for two years. The bushmen have offered their services and a trader who lives there will act as interpreter.

A J.C.I. spokesman said: "The prospectors are going into the unknown. We have no real idea what we shall find. All we know has been gleaned from rumours." (*S.A. Star*, January 14.)

Swazi Students' Views

Writing in *Inkanyezi Yenkululeko Kangwane* (Swaziland Freedom Star), the Youth Newsletter of the Swaziland Progressive Party, Mr. Dumisani Dlamini, student leader, makes the following points: Pan-Africanism and Communism do not meet and never will meet. Instead, the two ideologies clash without compromise. A Pan-Africanist is not a Communist. He is not Red, for he is not ready to take orders from Moscow, because he strongly believes that Africa and Russia will never amalgamate.

By nature an African is a socialist—he is born and lives in a communal way of life. The capitalists should not therefore gasp for breath to learn that Communism is less foreign to the African way of life than capitalism.

We call for unity and co-operation among all the African peoples. We sincerely ask the people of Swaziland to hear this noble call and respond without hesitation. (*Contact*, February 11.)

Economic Survey of Swaziland—I[1]

(To be completed in next issue)

The African population is now estimated to be about 245,000; at the 1956 census, Europeans numbered about 7,000 and Euro-Africans 2,000.

In 1948–9 ordinary revenue was £422,078, and expenditure £481,970, and C.D. and W. expenditure £59,356. The following year there was a £70,000 grant in aid. The 1959–60 estimates are ordinary revenue £1,449,074, expenditure £1,613,300 and C.D. and W. expenditure of £711,195, leaving a deficit of £164,226. Next year the deficit will probably be much higher and the surplus balance reduced to £174,000.

To develop Swaziland's potential it must be assisted by extra free

[1] *Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland; Report of an Economic Survey*. H.M.S.O. 1960.

grants. In 1956–66 public debt charges may rise to 8 per cent of expenditure, without considering the cost of new loans. Income tax accounts for just over 50 per cent of the revenue, and like base metal royalty, is heavily dependent on the value of asbestos production. An income tax investigator is to be appointed to deal with present evasions of tax. The second largest source of revenue is Customs and Excise.

All African males over 18 years pay a head tax of £1 15s. with additions for more than one wife up to a maximum of a total of £4 10s. a year. This tax brings in 5 per cent of the revenue. Males also pay 5s. a year for social service purposes, and not less than £5 in every three years to buy land for the nation from non-Swazi owners. The Native Tax is probably undercollected by more than £9,000 a year, and has not been raised for forty years. As Africans have moved a considerable distance towards a cash economy, and there is a considerable untouched taxable capacity, early consideration should be given to the introduction of a graded tax, based on incomes.

It is expected that C.D. and W. grants will amount to £2 million in the 1960–4 period. The total development plan expenditure in this period will be £3.5 million.

The Mission recommends a surcharge on road fuel. The Territory should be relieved of loan charges on the development plan for the next decade if Swaziland is not to be reduced to grant-aided status, or, if grants-in-aid have to be given, in a transitory period, the loan charges will prolong the period of dependence. In general the Mission recommends that the finances of the development programme should be supplemented by a capital grant of £2,667,260, most of which would be spent on roads, housing, agriculture, education and water control in that order.

The Economic Situation

"Economic development has proceeded considerably farther than in the other two (High Commission) Territories which are less well endowed with natural resources and climate. . . ." Exports of all products were valued at £4 million, in 1957–8, of which asbestos accounted for more than a half, the products of dryland farming for an eighth, and exports of livestock and products were about the same; rice, fruits and vegetables accounted for most of the remainder. Many of the crops are grown by Swazi farmers using primitive methods and yields are low. Crops which should show an exportable surplus are imported in small quantities. When the work of the Land Utilization Department expands yields should increase, crops should be diversified, and agriculture should see a gradual change from subsistence to a partial cash crop basis. Diversification of crops and higher yields should be obtained also by extension work among European farmers.

The three most important cash crops are cotton, pineapple and tobacco. The Colonial Development Corporation has a controlling interest in the cannery industry. Swazi value livestock for their own sake. European and Eurafrican farmers hold about a third as many cattle and sheep as the Swazi. Swazi owners are slowly coming to regard livestock as a source of cash income. Creamery depots established by the Department of Land Utilization is increasing the importance of dairying to the Swazi, and the sale of cream is an important source of cash income for many.

Soil erosion is a problem, but on the whole pasturage is less vulnerable than in the other two Territories, and most arable land is not as subject to gully erosion as in Basutoland, But mainly owing to the rise in the Swazi population, with an increase in livestock and encroachment on arable land, erosion has been increasing in recent decades. Less well tended European farms show signs of deterioration. The Department under the Central Rural Development Board and the Natural Resources Board has instituted a programme of mechanical soil conservation measures, regulation of land management practices and a plan for rural resettlement. Most of the work is done by the Swazi under supervision; control measures exist in the European farming areas.

A resettlement plan sets aside land sufficient to provide crops for the population; the rest is available for grazing. The number of livestock is limited in only a few areas, as yet, and has not always worked smoothly. Those who do not co-operate may be prosecuted in the Native Courts. A fair measure of success has been achieved but as opportunities for resettlement increase the staff of the Department will need strengthening. The Natural Resources Board is mainly concerned with Europeans. "Unfortunately, shortage of professional departmental personnel to assist the . . . Board, and a failure of the European farming community to appreciate fully the need for co-operation in their own interests, have hindered the Board's effectiveness."

Commercial irrigation farming has developed in the last decade. The Swaziland irrigation scheme was begun by the Colonial Development Corporation in 1950. It supplies water for sugar production. A sugar cane mill should begin work this year. Sugar cane growing could be substantially increased. The Big Bend scheme is operating on the same lines; the Ngonini Estates scheme specializes in bananas and citrus. Pineapples are grown for canning and export and a variety of crops most of which are suitable for canning. If the cannery is reorganized efficiently it could be operated throughout the year. These schemes cover some 50,000 acres. "The full potentialities of irrigation can be achieved only with careful attention to detail", and experiment stations are still handicapped by lack of specialized staff. This staff shortage also exists in Crop and Animal Husbandry research.

In arable agriculture extension work is done by 100 practical demonstrators and eleven professional supervisory officers. There is an output of fifteen a year from the one-year demonstrators' course. A two-year course would be preferable but candidates have insufficient education to justify this. Practical demonstrators in animal husbandry should be provided soon.

"African stock is excessive in numbers and deficient in quality." Extension work, among the three races of farmers, in animal husbandry needs to be intensified.

Forestry and Industry

Three large plantations have been established since the war. The largest was begun by the Colonial Development Corporation, which last year with Courtalds Ltd. formed a company to produce 100,000 tons of sulphate pulp a year. One plantation set up a sawmill and chipboard plant in 1958, and another is now operating a box-mill. A tung plantation is in decline, owing to the development of substitutes leading to a fall in price. If the demand for pulp and raw timber continues to increase and if local transport and labour conditions evolve satisfactorily conifer plantations could add to the prosperity of Swaziland.

If communications improve industrialists should have access to raw materials and markets at competitive rates.

Water is seldom a problem and a central power supply is planned. Land tenure has the sanction of law, and taxation, compared with the Union, is slightly favourable to Swaziland industry, but these advantages must outweigh the extra costs of housing, amenities, transport and labour training, which are not incurred in developed centres, if Swazi goods are to be competitive in price. Technical training should be entrusted in great measure to industry itself "and not left to the unguided efforts of the Government". Swazis must be associated from the start with all new enterprises and must be taught to qualify themselves for an increasing measure of technical and supervisory responsibility.

The asbestos industry is well established and has large reserves. The Geological Survey estimates that there are 25 million tons of haematite available by open-cast working at Bomver Ridge. There is a proposal dependent on the provision of a railway to mine the ore for export. There are good prospects for the new anthracite mine. Small-scale gold mining is expected soon. As minerals are a wasting asset the Mission recommends that a proportion of the taxes raised from the mining industry should be put into a Development Fund, which could assist in the finance of improved water supplies, communications, education and health services.

Other small industrial units based on agriculture have been opened. The creation of a smelting plant would lead to an imported urban population, large by Swazi standards, difficult to remove without hardships when Swazis could replace them, but the Mission emphasizes that the possibilities of steel manufacture must be examined.

When the sugar industry is established alchohol could be produced to supplement imported motor spirit, and be used, e.g., in the manufacture of plastics. Paper manufacture should be investigated. The Government should give financial help and assistance to set up more weaving and

basket work units for village women, and to the setting up of a ceramics industry.

South Africa, Union of

Leaving the Commonwealth

DR. H. VERWOERD informed the Prime Ministers' Conference in London on March 15 that he was withdrawing South Africa's application for readmission to the Commonwealth on becoming a Republic. South Africa therefore ceases to be a member of the Commonwealth on May 31.

Dr. Verwoerd's statement came after nearly three days' discussion.

Dr. Verwoerd told the Conference that no self-respecting member of any voluntary association could, "in view of what is being suggested and the degree of interference shown in what are South Africa's domestic affairs, be expected to wish to retain membership of what is becoming a pressure group.

"I am sure that the great majority of the people of my country will appreciate that in the circumstances no other course was open to us. National pride and self-respect are attributes of any soveriegn independent state. I must admit that I was amazed at, and shocked by, the spirit of hostility—and at this last meeting even of vindictiveness—shown towards South Africa in spite of the lengths to which we were prepared to go in the various draft communiques. It is clear that in the view of the majority of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, after the lead given by a group of Afro-Asian nations, South Africa will no longer be welcomed in the Commonwealth after May 31 when she becomes a Republic.

"The character of the Commonwealth has apparently changed completely during the last year. The opposition to South Africa's continued membership is based on alleged discrimination against, and oppression of, the Non-White peoples of South Africa. I do not intend repeating my strong denial of those allegations at this stage. I do, however, wish to state that it is ironical that these allegations have come from Prime Ministers in whose countries oppression and discrimination are openly practised and where the basic principles of democratic government are flouted. In this connexion I refer particularly to Ghana, India, Malaya and Ceylon, although certain other Commonwealth countries are also not free from such practices, sanctioned be legal enactments. In other cases, while not expressly permitted by law, little or no attempt is made to discontinue such practices.

"In conclusion I wish to state that the proceedings at today's meeting, which have obliged me to take this regrettable step, in my opinion mark the beginning of the disintegration of the Commonwealth." (*The Times*, March 16.)

In an editorial comment *The Times* said: "Faced with the gravest decision that it has ever been called upon to make the British association of nations has risen to the occasion. . . . Temptation to make easy capital out of the acute conflict over racial policy was resisted on all sides. . . . It was recognized that the refusal to renew membership or the resignation of a member should be avoided if that could be done without breach of mutual faith.

"The only consequence of a forlorn attempt to paper over the cracks must have been a weakening of the hold which those who attended the Conference have on their own people to and fro across the world. They would have returned to meet charges of having been led away in the diplomatic atmosphere of Lancaster House from loyalty to their own national and international beliefs. Nothing has come out more clearly from these deliberations than that Dr. Verwoerd stands alone in advocating a permanent division between men according to the colour of their skin. As such a doctrine is repugnant to every other member of the Commonwealth no scope was left for compromise. . . .

"It is inevitable that the severance will come as a shock to some South Africans and that it will be regarded quite mistakenly as a reflection of unfriendliness towards them. They should know that we in Britain look on this parting of the ways with the deepest regret, as a temporary measure and one that does not in the slightest affect our regard for men with whom we have had such happy association for so long. Relief that the Commonwealth has stood an unprecedented strain must be coupled today with a message of heartfelt goodwill to the peoples of all colours in the Union of South Africa."

The *Guardian* (March 16) said: "The operation is over and the unhealthy limb has been removed. It is an occasion for relief rather than for rejoicing. With South Africa as a member the life of the Commonwealth, and still more its further growth, were in serious doubt. Now the Commonwealth can be expected to live and grow with vigour as an association believing in the equal worth of all races. . . .

"The shock which yesterday's decision must give to South African political life could be a salutary one. It could be the catalyst to bring about the change which is bound to come one day and which the other Commonwealth members want to see soon. It could start people thinking who have never thought before about the nature of the system which they take for granted and which the rest of the world abhors. When that happens South Africa will probably not need to apply to join the Commonwealth as a Republic. She will be invited."

The *Daily Herald* (March 16) said: "The countries of the Commonwealth have come together because they have a shared experience. . . . There is immense diversity and freedom. But there cannot be racialism. It is possible for a member to be Christian or Hindu or Mohammedan, to be in or out of the cold war. But to practise racialism is to adopt a code which is morally abhorrent. . . .

"Everyone will hope that one day South Africa, under a new Government and with a changed racial policy, will ask to rejoin the Commonwealth. There is no pleasure in seeing the people of South Africa deliberately isolate themselves. There would be great pleasure in welcoming them back."

The *Daily Telegraph* (March 16) said: "That South Africa should have withdrawn her application to remain within the Commonwealth after she becomes a Republic is understandable, but regrettable. . . .

"Those who will be most jubilant over the withdrawal of South Africa argue that isolation may bring about a change of heart. This is certainly untenable. A proud and affronted withdrawal is more likely to entrench the present Government in the policies which have been challenged. . . .

"At the same time Dr. Verwoerd has great cause to blame himself for this misfortune. It might well have been little short of hypocritical if the Conference had maintained absolute public silence about his racial policy. Yet that is what he seems to have wanted."

The South African United Front described South Africa's departure from the Commonwealth as a significant victory for all opponents of Dr. Verwoerd's racial policies.

"For the White people of South Africa, the issues are clear and the choice simple: there is no room and no future for apartheid and racial discrimination in the world. South Africa must take her position among the peoples and nations of the world, or drift in insanity towards isolation and disaster." The Front said that the Prime Ministers' stand against apartheid, had raised the prestige of the Commonwealth as an international force. The United Nations could no longer doubt the intransigence of Dr. Verwoerd's Government. It would require tangible and concrete action by the United Nations, that is, the imposition of economic sanctions, to bring South Africa to its senses.

The Rev. Michael Scott, speaking on behalf of the Africa Bureau, said: "Surely this will serve to arouse all South Africans to the disastrous course being followed by Dr. Verwoerd of which their exit from the Commonwealth is a logical outcome. We shall continue to work towards the day when South Africa, freed of race discrimination, can take her rightful place again in the comity of the free nations of the Commonwealth."

For and Against Commonwealth Membership

Julius Nyerere, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, wrote in a special article for the *Observer* (March 12): "The people of Tanganyika are working to build a non-racial democratic society. . . . Racial group privileges or discrimination are incompatible with this aim.

"Success in these efforts will not come easily. It is true that we have made a good start. . . . But the people of Tanganyika are the same as those

elsewhere in the world—subject to reason and prejudice, to feelings of sympathy and revenge, selfishness and self-sacrifice. We have to overcome a legacy of inter-racial suspicion, as well as to change an economic structure where the high correlation between income and race mocks the concept of fundamental equality. . . .

"We have not decided on this policy because we expect to gain economically by it. . . . In our struggle for self-government and independence we have spoken of brotherhood and the equality of man. We are not hypocrites who merely used these phrases for our own ends. Now that we are in positions of responsibility, we are continuing our attempts to establish conditions where these concepts can become the stuff of everyday life.

"The apartheid policies now being practised in the Union of South Africa are a daily affront to this belief in individual human dignity. They are also a constantly reiterated insult to our own dignity as Africans, about which we cannot be expected to remain indifferent and which could inflame our own passions if not otherwise dealt with.

"If we are to succeed in building up a good society in our country, we must therefore make our detestation of the South African system apparent in every action. The Tanganyika Government cannot afford to have any relations with the South African Government, and it must, within the bounds of international law, lend support to those who struggle against the system of apartheid. . . .

"Now that the question of South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth is under discussion, our attitude is inevitable. We believe that South African membership under present conditions makes a mockery of the interracial composition of the Commonwealth. . . .

"We believe that the principles of the Commonwealth would be betrayed by an affirmative answer to South Africa's application for readmission as a Republic. Inevitably, therefore, we are forced to say that to vote South Africa in is to vote us out. . . .

"In announcing this stand now we are under no illusions. Even if we wished to do so we could not blackmail Commonwealth members or the United Kingdom on this issue. The Union of South Africa is an old member of the Commonwealth; it is comparatively wealthy and has a large number of people of European descent. We are smaller, poorer, and not yet even independent. But we have an elected Government representative of people committed to fundamental human values which are rooted in world-wide traditions, and we wish to have the greatest opportunity to apply these principles in our country.

"We want the Prime Ministers' conference and all other people to understand our position, for we believe it epitomizes the choice before the Commonwealth."

The *Observer* (March 12) also reported that the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, had decided to take the initiative in opposing South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth when the issue came before the Prime Ministers. He was expected to tell the Conference: "It is either South Africa or Ghana—the Commonwealth must decide."

The Archbishop of Capetown, Dr. Joost de Blank, wrote a letter to *The Times* (March 1) stating his reasons for favouring South Africa's continued membership of the Commonwealth. He described apartheid as "morally corroding, economically suicidal, politically senile, and theologically indefensible", and continued: "I look forward to the day when its evils will be over and the country as a whole move forward in a constructive and united attempt to create a happy and prosperous multiracial society. It is precisely because I believe that such a spirit will one day come to birth that I would plead now for the retention of South Africa within the Commonwealth. . . .

"If the White people of South Africa were the only group to be considered, expulsion might well be the honourable sentence of judgement of the other Commonwealth nations. But the Whites form a mere one-fifth of the total population; and the remaining four-fifths have had no opportunity of declaring their wishes either in the rejection of the Crown or in a continuance or otherwise within the Commonwealth. It is for them I plead.

"During the past months I have seized every available occasion to talk with representatives of the Coloured and Black peoples of South Africa As a result I am convinced that the vast majority wish to stay within the British Commonwealth of Nations. . . ."

Ex-Senator W. M. H. Campbell also wrote in favour of South Africa's retention in the Commonwealth.

The opposite view was expressed by the Bishops of Exeter and Manchester, Professor A. J. Ayer and leading M.P.s of the Labour and Liberal Parties, who wrote in a joint letter: "There can be no doubt that many people in this country, whatever their political persuasion, feel a sense of shame at the policies practised by the South African Government in pursuit of apartheid: policies which they think are highly dangerous. . . .

"We believe that it would be against the interests of our multi-racial Commonwealth if the Union were to be re-admitted while continuing to practise apartheid. Already South Africa's membership has caused dissension which threatens Commonwealth unity: her continued participation might well lead to its disintegration, which would be a disaster for the world as a whole.

"Furthermore we also believe that the Nationalist Government speaks for only a small minority. The South African United Front, representing the views of African and Indian organizations, and prominent South African liberals are united in opposing South Africa's readmission in present circumstances. Therefore, far from abandoning the majority of South Africans we would be supporting them. They repudiate the view that Dr. Verwoerd's Government has been, or is likely to be, in any way restrained by its membership of the Commonwealth. Indeed, the fact that Commonwealth loyalties have dictated British support for South Africa in the United Nations is regarded as positive encouragement to that Government." (*The Times*, March 3.)

The Bishop of Johannesburg commenting on the Archbishop's letter said: "It is doubtful if any individual knows the views of 'the vast majority' of the Non-Whites in South Africa. At the same time, many of the politically conscious Non-Whites, while they would normally wish to remain in the Commonwealth, desire the exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in order that the leaders of other Commonwealth countries may make plain their attitude towards apartheid. More than that, it is doubtful if the Non-White people will 'feel more than ever deserted and helpless', if South Africa is excluded from the Commonwealth, as they look increasingly for help and support to the emerging African states. . . .

"But the crux of the issue is found in the Archbishop's belief that a day will come when the evils of apartheid will end because it is on this ground that he chiefly pleads for the retention of South Africa within the Commonwealth. . . .

"Unless sufficient pressure can be brought to bear on the South African Government to change it present racial policies the chances are that this new day will only come after a titanic clash between the Government and the Non-Whites. Those who demand the exclusion of South Africa from the Commonwealth until there is a change in racial policy do so because they believe that such action will help to exert this pressure and do something to avoid a head-on collision between the Non-Whites and the Government. To retain South Africa within the Commonwealth may well help to precipitate such a conflict, and be the first step, incidentally, in the dissolution of the Commonwealth itself."

Dr. Owen McCann, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, the Right Rev. R. S. Taylor (Grahamstown), the Right Rev. T. G. V. Inman (Natal), the Right Rev. J. L. Schuster (St. Johns, Kaffraria, which includes most of Transkei), and the Right Rev. T. J. Savage (Zululand), on being questioned by the Press said they wanted South Africa to remain in the Commonwealth, as did the Bishop of George who wrote: "Already there are indications that within the highly influential Dutch Reformed Church doubts about apartheid are growing, and once that Church ceases to support the racial policy of the Nationalists the policy will collapse, or at least be greatly modified." (*The Times*, March 7.)

The Rev. Michael Scott pointed out that the case before the International Court regarding South West Africa was relevant to the question of South Africa's Commonwealth membership. He wrote: "Whatever will be argued at the Court on the legal implications of South Africa's changes

of status both under the Statute of Westminster, and under her new republican legislation, in so far as the Mandate is concerned there can be no doubt that the obligations of other Commonwealth countries under the Mandate treaty remain. Similarly, it is from this treaty alone that South Africa derives her jurisdiction and it cannot be abrogated by a unilateral act on the part of the Union Government. Nor could the Commonwealth be party to the abrogation of the Treaty when for fifteen years it has been upheld by the United Nations and advisory opinions of the Court. It is not only the constitutional relationship of South West Africa to the Union that is involved in the contentious proceedings that are now before the Court but the applicability of certain apartheid Acts. . . .

"South Africa has chosen to base her change to a republican status on a referendum which excluded four-fifths of the population, though South West African Europeans, who may not be Union citizens were included. Is it not therefore open to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to delay a decision on readmission until it has been possible for all sections of the population to be consulted about their wishes? This would accord with the principle which the United Kingdom has always recognized as indispensable in any question of the transfer of the High Commission Territories to the Union." (*The Times*, March 4.)

Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck wrote: "Having spent most of my life among the peoples of India and Pakistan, I think I know something of their feelings towards apartheid . . . and I, myself, fully share these feelings, holding this practice in detestation. Having, however, studied the Archbishop of Cape Town's letter . . . I am convinced that the course advocated by him is right and in the best interests of the Non-White peoples of South Africa, even if it may seem to old and valued friends that I have forsaken the principle of equality, irrespective of colour, for which I stand." (*The Times*, March 4.)

Miss Mary Benson, a South African, wrote: "The Archbishop of Cape Town . . . gives no proof to support his belief that the Commonwealth exerts 'moral pressure' on the South African Government . . . the greatest opportunity to exert such pressure came during the last Prime Ministers' Conference but, far from Dr. Verwoerd moderating his policies, he went on to announce that the pass laws would be extended to African women, he imprisoned 20,000 people of all races, including missionaries and social workers, and there followed the repression of the Pondo. . . . Certainly Sharpeville gravely disturbed many Whites in the Union and they protested to their Government. To what effect? Dr. Verwoerd announced that the Nationalists would have to 'stand like walls of granite on apartheid'. Can diplomatic soft-soap wear away granite?

"Alan Paton has said 'South Africa is not a Nazi country but we are not a bad imitation'. How can a multiracial Commonwealth survive with such a member?" (*The Times*, March 4.)

Chief Albert Luthuli cabled: "Voicing feeling majority Africans. Opposed to Archbishop de Blank's letter. Call on Commonwealth to expel South Africa from membership."

The South African United Front which is composed of representatives of the five major political organizations in South Africa and South West Africa, and has offices in Accra, New York, Cairo and London wrote: "Archbishop de Blank and ex-Senator Campbell, have a right to express their own opinions, but we must claim the right to speak for the African people.

"Our categorical opposition to the readmission of South Africa into the Commonwealth is the expression of the overwhelming opinion of the African and other Non-White people in South Africa, and has the full support of the African people throughout the continent of Africa as expressed by the Conference of Independent African States. . . .

"The readmission of South Africa into the Commonwealth would be a vindication of Dr. Verwoerd's racist policies and it would also be a victory for those who uphold White supremacy and racial arrogance. It is idle to believe that the retention of South Africa in the Commonwealth will help to influence South Africa to reverse her policies. That South Africa is determined to pursue her present policy regardless of world opinion is clear from the stand taken by Dr. Verwoerd, when talking on the Republican Constitution Bill, he rejected out of hand any guarantee of 'basic human rights' or the participation '. . . of all responsible citizens irrespective of colour in the Government'. . . .

"It is our firm belief that South Africa must be isolated. Her actions must be condemned by the community of nations who abhor the doctrine of White supremacy and race prejudice. It is not enough to compromise with evil just to ensure that 80 per cent of the African population continue to enjoy the hollow and doubtful privilege of being indirect members of the Commonwealth." (*The Times*, March 7.)

The High Commissioner for South Africa in London replied by quoting statements which he said had been made in Peking by Mr. J. Kosonguizi who signed the letter on behalf of the United Front. Mr. Kosonguizi is stated to have said: "We have only one great leader in international aggression—the biggest enemy of our cause, be it on the political or the economic level—and that is the dollar. It is the dollar that maintains the United Nations and Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjoeld. . . .

"Let us not only keep Washington and its leaders in check but let us destroy them. . . .

"The imperialist countries, including the United States, Britain, and France, glibly say that they are the greatest champions of human rights and freedom. But I have visited these countries and have found out that it is none other than their Governments which are the core of imperialism. . . .

"We shall mobilize and move our masses to take over the Government of South West Africa." (*The Times*, March 9.)

Mr. Nana Mahomo, another member of the South Africa United Front, replied that the High Commissioner "has not contributed anything in his letter either for or against the readmission of South Africa into the Commonwealth. He simply does not argue the case at all. Instead he tries the thoroughly discredited smear tactics reminiscent of the McCarthy era.

"These tactics are well known in Verwoerdian circles in South Africa, where one only has to shout 'Communist' or 'Jew' or 'Black danger' to stampede the electorate into voting for Dr. Verwoerd's racist policies. H. Muller, in citing extracts from a speech alleged to have been made by Mr. Kozonguizi in Peking last year, is apparently trying to inject this mass hysteria cult into the British situation. In South Africa this move would have put paid to the whole question without further argument. What he has failed to realize, however, is that while with colour-prejudiced South Africa it does not require any facts at all to make one's case, it may require something more than mere emotion to influence a politically mature and thinking public. . . ."

Arnold L. Haskell wrote: "Dr. Muller does not seem to realize that the statements made by Mr. Kozonguizi in his broadcast from Peking are strong arguments against the attitude of the South African Government, and in favour of expelling South Africa from the Commonwealth. It is because of apartheid, and what the Africans feel to be the indifference of the Commonwealth, that the African is driven straight into the Communist camp. Such action may not be logical, in view of the Communist record, but is emotionally inevitable." (*The Times*, March 13.)

Professor Nicholas Mansergh, Smuts Professor at Cambridge, urged that the republican and racial issues in South Africa should be disentangled.

". . . Whether South Africa is to remain a member or to be expelled (for that is the right word)—and I think on balance the weight of argument is against expulsion—may we hope that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers will consider making known the grounds of their conclusion, judgement on policies of racial discrimination being distinguished from the decision on continuing republican membership?

"If such explanation is not given then, whatever happens, one Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, may go home rejoicing. For if South Africa's request for continued membership is accepted, this may be represented as acquiescence by her partners in South Africa's racial policies, while if it is rejected, then such rejection can reasonably be attributed as hostility to a South African republic—and what more powerful electoral rallying cry for Afrikaners is there than that?" (*The Times*, March 8.)

Ben Turok, M.P.C. (African Representative) in the Cape, cabled:

"Believe Cape Town Archbishop is mistaken. Am convinced Western Cape Africans desire South African expulsion." (*The Times*, March 9.)

Professor Kenneth Kirkwood, who holds the chair of Race Relations at Oxford said that in the argument so far there had been "the usual embarrassing and dangerous vagueness deriving from the absence of an agreed general formulation of principles and methods". He continued: "As a citizen of the Commonwealth who believes in its intrinsic value and in the potential greater influence for world peace and security of our widespread international association, I—and no doubt others—have urged for many years that a definite attempt be made by the Commonwealth of Nations, as such, to formulate a general statement of rights and duties. A convention, charter, code, or creed of this kind could serve as a normative ideal to give the Commonwealth coherence and purpose: it would set 'a common standard of achievement' and encourage members 'to combine their efforts to accomplish these aims'—to borrow phrases from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. Such a convention would above all provide a steady beacon for those members of our more intimate, family association who might from time to time find it necessary to tack or veer before winds of change." (*The Times*, March 10.)

Barbara Henderson, a niece of the late General Louis Botha, called for "some forbearance and indeed sympathy" for the present generation of South Africans faced with a difficult task. "Although their present policy is as yet perhaps only a clumsy experiment and not always wisely or completely fairly administered, let us at least give South Africa a chance to work out this intricate problem without too much condemnation. Perhaps the Commonwealth link with Britain will remind the South African Nationalist Government of the standards of fair play and freedom so clearly upheld by this country."

E. M. Forster, Canon Alec Vidler and seven other senior members of Cambridge University wrote: "All your correspondents on the subject of South Africa seem to take it for granted that the expulsion of the Union from the Commonwealth would be an irreversible step. We suggest that it might be a temporary one, and that the road could be left open to welcoming the Union back into the Commonwealth as soon as a civilized government took the place of the present one." (*The Times*, March 13.)

Debate on Constitution Bill

Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, introducing the Constitution Bill said that it was the wish of the Afrikaans-speaking people to have a republic which both sections of the people would enter together, and for that reason the republicans were prepared to make sacrifices. For a long time the form of government practised in the old republics was what the republicans envisaged. They realized, however, that if they persisted in this it would not be possible for everybody to enter the Republic without objection. It had been decided, therefore, to take the South Africa Act as amended since 1910 as the basis of the new constitution. It would be the republicans' contribution towards unity.

In the second place many republicans had always thought that the President should not only be Head of State, but should also be Head of the Government. Here also the realism of the present times had triumphed, and the head of State would not be the same person as the head of the Government.

The Government realized, however, that the present flag had been the subject of much strife, and because in that way it had become part of the political development of the Union, it was not proposed to change it.

Although republicans were now prepared to have the Republic within the Commonwealth, it must not be thought that they were doing this purely out of material considerations, which were not as great as many people thought. They were prepared to accept this because they knew that membership had a great sentimental value for the English-speaking section.

The Prime Minister said he wished to emphasize that the Union had two languages—not one language belonging to some and another language belonging to others. He repeated that great sacrifices had been made by republicans.

Dealing with the provisions of the Bill, the Prime Minister said that in the first place it was a consolidating measure. The South Africa Act as a whole was not being repealed. For example those provisions which envisaged the incorporation of the Protectorates were being retained. These provisions did not deal with matters on which South Africa alone could act, and they were therefore retained.

The Bill provided for the election of the President by an electoral college consisting of the Senate and the House of Assembly. The provision that a President should not be re-elected after his term of seven years unless it was the express wish of Parliament was taken because it was accepted that he would not be a young man. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 31.)

The leader of the Opposition, Sir De Villiers Graaff, asked Parliament to reject the second reading of the Bill because the Government could not ensure the Union's continued Commonwealth membership, and the Bill failed to guarantee basic rights which will advance national unity. Sir De Villiers said his purpose was to pinpoint fears of the anti-republicans and to lay emphasis upon the aspirations of the best amongst those who supported the Republic. The Government has interpreted the result of the referendum according to its own ideas and not even according to the rules of the constitution of its own party. These rules provided for a decision based on the broad will of the people.

Sir De Villiers said the motives of those who voted against the Republic were as diverse as those who voted for it. But in all this diversity there were three considerations which were shared by the overwhelming majority of those who voted against the Republic. The first was a real fear that the establishment of a republic might endanger the Union's relations with the Commonwealth and lead to a greater isolation of South Africa than she suffered at present.

The second was a growing apprehension that the establishment of a republic, so far from creating national unity, might accentuate existing divisions.

The third was a suspicion that a majority vote for the republic would be interpreted by the Prime Minister as an endorsement of his rigid negative policies which he had been forcing upon the National Party in the recent past, and which might be even more strictly enforced. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 31.)

Replying, Dr. Verwoerd rejected appeals for a national convention as "idle" and merely an attempt to postpone the Republic. He said there was now only one choice—that was which sort of republic should be brought about. The Nationalist Party wanted a republic based on the constitution as it had developed with a Parliament containing only White people to solve the country's racial and other problems. The United Party, however, wanted a multi-racial republic in which each group should have its say according to a system of group representation. (*Daily News*, February 10.)

During the debate on the Constitution Bill, the leader of the United Party in Natal, Mr. D. E. Mitchell, said that he rejected the republic and Natal would seek the first opportunity to make its own laws. There were many deplorable aspects about the referendum campaign such as the threats to old-age pensioners. But one of the most serious complaints was the refusal to allow Coloured people of Natal who were still on the common roll to vote in the referendum.

The Minister of Lands, Mr. Sauer, and the Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. Maree, called on the United Party to state its attitude to Mr. Mitchell's remarks. Mr. Mitchell, the Ministers claimed, spoke only for a small group of extremists in Natal, and did not even speak on behalf of the English-speaking people. Mr. Mitchell had said that Natal would grasp the first opportunity to make its own laws, but had not explained how it was going to do that. The people of Natal knew that their safety was dependent on their remaining an integral part of the Union. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 1 and 2.)

Commenting editorially, the *East London Daily Despatch* (February 8) said that no one had been more consistent through thirty years in advocating the retention of the link with the Crown. "But when the republicans won the referendum by a substantial majority, we accepted the verdict of the electors. What alternative course of action is there? Only one: that is to preach rebellion and civil war; and no responsible newspaper, or person, could do that." What was important was it would not be "the

repressive republic we feared". South Africa would be governed in the way it had been since Union. Expressing conviction that the Prime Minister and his Government were sincere in their desire to remain in the Commonwealth the editor stated there was no cause to fear that the republican constitution would be altered to the disadvantage of English-speaking South Africans as long as they were prepared to fight for their rights and beliefs. The republic should be accepted and efforts should be made to improve it.

Censorship Bill Dropped

The Government decided to drop the controversial Publications and Entertainments Bill. Moderate Nationalists welcomed the decision and the Cape Nationalist newspaper *Die Burger* pointed out in a leading article that it had always opposed the measure.

Reliable sources believe the decision to drop the Bill was a compromise between two opposing sectors within the National Party. Moderate Nationalists, both inside and outside the Parliament, together with authors, journalists and elements of the Dutch Reformed Churches have waged an energetic behind-the-scenes struggle against the measure. They feared, among other things, that the Bill would have an adverse effect on Afrikaans literature.

Opposed to them were a strong group of party extremists who have long been agitating for rigid censorship of the English-language Press. The compromise appears to be to drop the measure until after the Press Commission reports.

Before the Bill was dropped Professor D. V. Cowen of the University of Cape Town described the bill as an "insolent and savage attack on Freedom". The definition of what would constitute an undesirable newspaper was so wide that no person could publish or distribute a newspaper without an ever-present and very real fear of committing a criminal offence. It was clear the Bill was intended to create conditions under which it would be impossible for the newspaper to function except as the "tame purveyor" of information acceptable to the Government. (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 7.)

Coloured Affairs

Sir De Villiers Graaff, speaking in the House of Assembly, said his Party favoured an "ordered advance" which accepted that Coloureds should have parliamentary representation.

Dr. Verwoerd in his argument that such a step would open the floodgates to integration, said: "This will have to be extended to the Asiatics. And Coloureds will have to be allowed to serve on the controlling bodies of the United Party. If this is not so, then the whole policy is a bluff. This will mean that, in the Cape at least, the United Party will be completely overwhelmed and ruled by the Coloureds."

The Prime Minister said the National Party policy had brought new peace and contentment to the Coloured people, who now realized that they were being given a chance to uplift themselves. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 28.)

The Secretary for Coloured Affairs, Dr. I. D. du Plessis, opening the new offices of his Department in Johannesburg, said the Government had no plans to transfer Coloureds to "so-called Coloured homelands".

"Their homelands are the same as the Whites," he said. "Apart from separate residential areas there is no plan to have 'homelands' for the Coloured people."

Dr. Du Plessis attacked Coloureds who were "antagonistic" towards the Department. "These people may not need the Department's help, but in advocating a boycott of the Department, they are doing a great disservice to thousands of their fellow countrymen who do need the Department's aid."

Effect of Boycotts

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. Diederichs, told the House of Assembly that with the exception of India, most of the official boycotts came into effect during the latter half of 1960, and it was therefore too early to judge the full effect on the Union's export trade with the countries concerned. However, according to available trade statistics exports to the British West Indies amounted to £103,660 for the first eight months of last year, compared with £504,136 for the corresponding period of 1959. These figures covered exports to all British West Indies territories and not only to Jamaica, Antigua and Barbados.

Exports to the Sudan during the first eight months of last year amounted to £22,565, compared with £97,226 during the first eight months of 1959.

The corresponding figures in the case of Ghana were £1,112,311 and £1,474,169. In the case of Malaya, they were £2,308,311 and £1,937,573. Union exports to Singapore, the value of which was included in the figures for Malaya, were continuing.

"At the same time the total Union exports (gold excluded) during the first eight months of 1960, compared with the same period of 1959, increased from £248,507,963 to £268,540,992," the Minister said.

"My Department has made it clear to Union interests that it is at all times prepared to discuss with them any problems relating to their sales in export markets where boycott measures have been taken or are being threatened, with a view to examining the possibilities of securing export outlets in alternative markets."

The Minister concluded: "The Government will, of course, in no circumstances negotiate with any foreign government or party responsible for boycott movements against the Union, in an attempt to persuade them to abandon such activities." (*Rand Daily Mail*, January.)

America Corporation Sells Out

Mr. C. R. Cox, president of Kennecott Corporation of America, said that his Corporation would suffer a substantial loss by its decision to sell all its South African gold mining interests. The Corporation's loss was estimated on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange at £10 million and may possibly be more.

Mr. Brian R. Frisbie, Kennecott's South African representative, said, before leaving: "Yes, you can take it that Sharpeville and the other disturbances were the major reason for Kennecott selling out in the Union." (*S.A. Sunday Times*, January.)

Sharpeville, Langa and Cato Manor

Sharpeville

Mr. Justice P. J. Wessels says his general view is that there was no organized attempt by the crowd at Sharpeville to attack the police on the day of the shooting. In his opinion it was not the task of the Commission to report on the liability or responsibility of individuals. The Pan-Africanist Congress was closely connected with the events of that day. Evidence before the Commission did not justify a finding that the Pan-Africanist Congress as such openly advocated violence as part of the campaign.

Dealing with events at Sharpeville where about seventy-five members of the South African police on the first day of the campaign against reference books fired on a crowd killing sixty-nine and wounding 180, the report says that the general nature of evidence before the Commission was that the inhabitants of Sharpeville were normally a law-abiding and peace-loving community.

After referring to evidence before the Commission that, on the one hand, the crowd gathered before the police station on March 21, 1960, was at no time hostile and, on the other hand, to police evidence that they were forced to fire to ward off an attack, the report said: It was impossible to ascertain with any measure of accuracy when the order to fire at Sharpeville was given. The Commission was of the opinion that almost immediately after the first shots were fired Lieutenant-Colonel Pienaar and other police officers took steps to stop the firing. It was clear that some time elapsed between the giving of the order to cease fire and the actual stopping thereof.

The Commission was of the opinion that the first shots fired were aimed at a low position. This also explained why so few people were killed or wounded immediately in front of the gates because, when the main firing started, the crowd was not a static mass any more. It also explained why many were wounded in the back and sides. Mr. Justice Wessels rejected as false accusations that the police had deliberately ignored the injured, but said that he had misgivings about the conduct of certain policemen, White as well as Bantu, after the shooting. Some of the injured who gave evidence, mentioned remarks which certain members of the police had made.

Mr. Justice Wessels said that although he was not impressed by all the police witnesses, he had no doubt that they were of the opinion that their lives were in danger immediately before the shooting. The evidence also justified the view that the crowd could not be regarded as armed. The most important factor was the size and noise of the crowd and their nearness to the police. Stones and other missiles were thrown at the police and several were injured.

Some of the police fired because they heard the order, others because they thought their lives were in danger and did not wait for an order. Others fired because when they heard firing, they assumed that an order to fire had been given.

Langa

Mr. Justice Diemont's report on the disturbances at Langa said that the evidence showed that the Pan-African Congress had launched a national campaign on March 21, 1960, which was planned to reach a climax in 1963 when the organization would take over control of South Africa. In their speeches the leaders advocated non-violence but they expected that there might be violence and took no effective steps to prevent it.

The large gathering at Langa came together because they had been led to believe that an official answer to their grievances would be given by the police. This representation, the report said, was false, as the police had not given any such undertaking.

The District Commandant had the meeting banned under the Riotous Assemblies Act. This order was broadcast in Langa and, although it must have been heard by many people it did not deter them from flocking to the meeting. The police, however, were bound to enforce the order and it was not unreasonable in the circumstances that they should go to the meeting in an armed convoy.

The commanding officer did not know that the meeting was expecting an official answer to grievances and this information should have been given to him by the Security Branch. The crowd was largely unarmed but some had sticks and knives and several carried firearms.

After criticizing the decision of the police to use force, the report said two baton charges were carried out during which a number of policemen, particularly African policemen acted in an undisciplined manner. They struck people who were running away, they struck people lying on the ground. The baton charges were only partially successful as a large part of the crowd turned on the police. Two men fired on the police and later more people fired on them.

From the time the crowd started to attack them, the police were in constant danger and the commanding officer was justified in ordering his men to open fire. The firing was controlled.

The Pan-African Congress maintained that no one was armed and it had been impressed on the people that no one was to bring a stick or knife to the meeting. There was no doubt that this instruction was given but there was doubt whether everyone obeyed it.

The report said there were twenty-eight gunshot casualties of which two were fatal. There were twenty-three baton or stick casualties, sixteen of which were head injuries. A third baton charge dispersed the remainder of the crowd. On their way to the police station a number of policemen fired from their vehicles. Some of this shooting must be condemned as unjustified and unlawful.

After the evening meeting had been dispersed rioting spread throughout Langa. One man was murdered and a number of persons, including four women, were seriously injured. There was widespread incendiarism with eleven public buildings destroyed or damaged by fire. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 24.)

The *S.A. Star* (January 28) commenting on the Sharpeville and Langa Reports said: "Each report in turn makes it clear that the huge crowds at the police stations at Sharpeville and Langa assembled there because they believed there was no other way of ventilating their frustrations and grievances.

"It was, of course, the presence of these vast crowds that led to the shooting in which, in both episodes taken together, seventy-one people were killed and 208 wounded. It follows that if the Government had previously agreed to receive deputations at a high level of, say, half a dozen Native leaders, these ghastly events might have been avoided. It must be recognized that when people have grievances, real or imaginary, they want to see the man at the top, and not an intermediary, however competent and however sympathetic.

"This has been realized so far as White people are concerned and is one of the reasons why there are now two Ministers of Agriculture. No one man could attend to all that the farmers wanted to say.

"There are also signs that since Sharpeville the same principle is being applied to the Natives. The Minister of Bantu Education, Mr. Maree, has, personally, and very courteously, received a deputation of Native teachers. These principles must be learned and greatly extended so as to ensure that never again is there another Sharpeville. It is the business of Government to anticipate events."

Cato Manor

The departmental committee which investigated the riots in Cato Manor, near Durban, in which four White and five African constables were murdered, described Cato Manor as an appalling slum to which the unlawful elements of Durban swarm in their thousands at week-ends. It said that with such a concentration of Bantu, many of them drunk, anything could happen if there should be an incident which aroused their anger.

The riot which culminated in the murder of the policemen was touched off by one of the African constables treading on an African woman's foot. She started screaming, pelting the police and yelling "Hit the police". Thereupon the police were stoned.

The White constables were armed only with revolvers with six rounds each and the African constables only with assegais and sticks. When the White constables' ammunition was expended the police were unable to defend themselves against the mob and were murdered.

The Committee recorded that a police raiding party had to withdraw the previous day and clearly indicated that it considered the police were insufficiently armed. (*The Times*, February 15.)

Pondoland[1] and Tembuland

Stanley Uys wrote from Capetown (December 16): "The picture in Pondoland is clearer now. Reports—official and unofficial—from behind Dr. Verwoerd's iron curtain give the following information: Mobile watch troops, South Africa's most intensively trained anti-riot force, number nearly three hundred. They have at least three armoured scout cars, more than twenty jeeps and more than fifty troop carriers and heavy transport vehicles. An army signals unit is in operation.

"The Air Force has seven aircraft stationed in Bizena—a Dakota, two camouflaged spotter planes, and four helicopters including two new French four-seater jets. In addition three Harvards fly to Bizena from Durban daily. Troop transporters have also been seen in Pondoland.

"The whole of the trouble area is under emergency rule and police and army have been given drastic powers of arrest. Chiefs have been invested with similar powers. Native commissioners, the police and defence force officers and N.C.O.s may without warrant arrest anyone who has committed any offence against emergency regulations or who is reasonably suspected of having committed an offence or who has offended against any law besides emergency regulations or has any connexion with or any information about any offence or intended offence. Arrested persons can be detained indefinitely. Equipped with these military and legal powers police and army have moved into tribal areas.

"The authorities have officially admitted arresting eighty tribesmen in connexion with murders, faction fighting and hut burning and have added that arrests will continue until all 'troublemakers' are in custody.

"An earlier unofficial report said 'large scale' arrests of tribesmen who were refusing to pay taxes had taken place.

"*Die Burger*, pro-Government newspaper in Cape Town which is taking a more independent line, reported: 'The friendly Whites in Pondoland who were always fond of talking have become reserved, silent and suspicious. . . . It is alleged that jails are filling up and that army transport vehicles are used to take some (Africans) to Matatiele, Kokstad and even Pietermaritzburg. It is also alleged that shots have been fired and that

[1] DIGEST VIII, 4.

persons have been injured in pre-dawn raids. But no one can confirm this.'

"The picture which emerges is of ruthless semi-military operation likely to continue for a considerable time in no way redressing legitimate grievances of the Pondo people and in fact creating an inflammable situation."

The Chief Information Officer of the Department of Bantu Administration denied that mass arrests were taking place, but three weeks later the Minister of Justice, Mr. Erasmus, disclosed that 4,769 Africans and two Whites were detained during the disturbances in the area.

Mr. De Wet Nel, replying to a question by Mr. Harry Lawrence, M.P., said that members of the Press had been permitted to enter the districts affected by the state of emergency in Pondoland, but had been restricted to the reporting of court cases. Asked whether members of his department were authorized to make public statements on the activities of the police and military forces, Mr. Nel said that statements by the Chief Information Officer, Mr. Prinsloo, on matters concerning the police and military operations in the area were made after consultation between the departments concerned.

Mr. Fouche, the Minister of Defence, told the House that no vessels of the South African Navy had been used. Permanent force units only were on service in the area. No Citizen Force units of the South African Defence Force had been called up.

The Minister said that no use had been made of firepower, apart from one warning shot in the case of an escaping African. Military equipment had been used "in the normal role". The only casualties inflicted had been of a minor nature, "caused accidentally".

Mr. Fouche refused to reveal the strength of the units, or where they were stationed, "in the public interest", but he did disclose that the units were equipped with standard infantry platoon weapons only—303 rifles, light machine-guns, pistols and carbines. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 28.)

Unrest spread to the Tembus on January 29 when a headman, Spalding Matyile, and an acting headman, William Ntameka, were attacked and killed. Matyile was chairman of the Encobo District Authority, and chairman of the district Bantu School Board. Both the men were Bantu Authorities officials, falling under Paramount Chief Sebata Dalindyebo of the Tembu tribe. About 412,550 tribesmen fall under the Paramount Chief. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 31.)

The *Rand Daily Mail* (February 1) commented: "At this stage no reasonable person expects the Bantustan experiment to run smoothly, but what little news is allowed to come out of the Transkei suggests that, even for an experiment, it is going very badly indeed. Troops are still stationed in Pondoland and at the end of last week there were new military movements with the object of rounding up still more Pondos. In fact, there is every indication that the Transkei is slipping out of control by the normal means of government. . . .

"Instead of trying to get at the root of the trouble all the Government seems to be able to do is to wield the big stick and send in troops, as if it had another Kaffir war on its hands. This is surely no way to set the Bantu 'homelands' on their feet. . . .

"It is ridiculous that Mr. Prinsloo, the official Government spokesman on this subject, should be made to look foolish by denying all knowledge of arrests when in fact some 4,700 Pondos had been rounded up. It is ridiculous that Mr. Hans Abraham, a politician of no importance, should still be in charge of the development of the Government's 'show piece'."

Andrew Wilson writing for *O.F.N.S.* (February 2) from Umtata said: "So precarious is the position that even some Nationalists are worried, and for the first time in years it is possible to see cracks in the monolithic power wielded by the extreme theorists of apartheid and the Afrikaner secret society, the Broederbond. . . .

"The revolt (against the Bantustan programme) began with the Pondos, who inhabit the eastern half of the great 'Native Reserve' in the Transkei—a 100,000 square mile hill country between Natal and Cape Province proper. They chased away the tribal authorities and set up their own at district and regional levels.

"The first and bloodiest clash occurred in June, when police came upon one of these meetings at a place called Ngqusa Hill. According to eyewitnesses 100 police emerged from the forest and advanced on the meeting from all sides. Who fired first is uncertain, but the police used sub-machine-guns and of 200 tribesmen between thirty-six and forty-two were killed. The police withdrew without counting the bodies.

"Ever since then the authorities, with the aid of 1,000 or so troops, supported by planes and armoured cars, have been trying to 're-establish order'. There have been countless clashes, pro-Government chiefs have been savagely murdered and administration is near breakdown. . . .

"Meanwhile the trouble has spread across the Pondoland border into the large territory of Tembuland. Since the end of December four chiefs have been murdered and four have been wounded or had their huts burned—a sign of outlawry by the tribe. Troops and police have been drafted in from Cape Province.

"At least 750 people have been detained in Tembuland in the past few weeks; many have been driven to unknown destinations and their families have no news of them.

"The causes of discontent are deep and many: increased taxes, land hunger (the Transkei is the most populous and over-grazed country in all the Union), disillusionment about Government promises to help Africans develop their own trade, horizons narrowed by the deliberately low-standard education imposed by the Bantu Education Act.

"But the focus of hatred continues in nearly every instance to be the chiefs themselves. Formerly they were the spokesmen of the tribes in relations with the Government: the 'Bantustan' laws have made them overlords—an ironic commentary on the Government policy of enabling the Africans to 'develop in their own way'. . . .

"With massive breakdown confronting the Government and a judicial inquiry being demanded with increasing urgency by many Members of Parliament, the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. De Wet Nel, has just announced that a further 'Bantustan', similar to that in the Transkei, is to be set up in Zululand this year. Others will be inaugurated in the Ciskei."

Apartheid

Sport

The South African Sports Association is to ask the International Olympic Games Council to expel the South African Olympic Association from the world body, if the colour bar in sport is not dropped in the Union. The Association, a non-racial body, was meeting in Port Elizabeth for its first biennial meeting. It also submitted a resolution to the Imperial Cricket Conference in London calling for the abolition of the colour bar in the selection of South African national asides.

Sewsunker "Papwa" Sewgolum, the Durban holder of our S.A. Open Championship and twice winner of the Dutch Open Championship, was refused permission to play in the Natal Open Championship in Durban. Making an announcement about the refusal of Papwa's entry, Mr. Douglas Geddie, secretary of the Natal Golf Union, said: "We referred Papwa's application to Mr. E. B. Pagden, president of the S.A. Golf Union. Then, after the national body had considered it the application was turned down." Mr. Geddie added: "The entry of a Non-European into a Provincial or National championship would be a departure from traditions and customs as stated by the Minister of the Interior in his reply to a query from the S.A. Cricket Association relating to mixed cricket matches." (*Golden City Post*, January 29.)

The decision was altered for the South African Open Golf Championship. Then, the Minister of the Interior, Senator de Klerk, agreed to the necessary permit under the Group Areas Act being issued for "Papwa" to play provided that the South African Golf Union and club concerned gave him their permission. The Minister's decision has been made "strictly as an exception", and will not set a precedent. (*The Times*, March 15.)

When African jockey J. Maseko brought in a ten-to-one outsider two lengths ahead of the field to win the Riebeeck Stayers' Handicap, he had not only beaten the field, but he had also beaten the Jockey Club preference to White jockeys, which stipulates that an African must not ride when White jockeys are available at the weight. At least four White jockeys could have ridden in the race. There is to be an inquiry into why he was allowed to ride. (*Rand Daily Mail*, January 24.)

Arts

The campaign is growing to extend Equity's rules which control British artists visiting South Africa. At present an agreed number of performances must be open to Non-Europeans; but a Cape Town committee is now planning to ask Equity to stop British artists from performing in South Africa before segregated audiences, which is the effect of their present rule.

Golden City Post (February 5) commented: "British artists and theatre groups—including the Royal Ballet Company—have toed the theatre apartheid line in the Union for some years now. Past attempts by individuals with protesting cables and letters over 'White only' shows have petered out into a diplomatic stalemate. Now a positive attempt will be made to bring matters to a head, which if successful could do great damage to the South African theatre and stage industry overnight."

Antonio, the Spanish ballet dancer, expressed his personal feelings when he told Non-White protestors demonstrating outside a Cape Town theatre last year: "I am sorry that you are not allowed to watch our performances. We are under contract and helpless to do anything about it. But I will never return to South Africa while apartheid exists in the theatre."

The Flag

The South African Department of Justice has instructed magistrates that only Whites must be allowed to hoist the official Union flag in front of public offices and not Africans as had been the general practice in the past. It is understood that the order has been given at the Prime Minister's request because Africans allegedly did not show sufficient respect for the ceremony. (*Guardian*, March 15.)

"Apartheid" Banned

The South African Broadcasting Corporation said the word "apartheid" would not be used except in direct quotation. A spokesman for the Corporation, which has been criticized recently for being pro-Government, said that it would use the word "self-development" to describe the Government's race policies. (*The Times*, March 15.)

Café Defiance Campaign Charges[1]

The charge against Lionel Wilfred Attwell, aged 21, arising out of an incident in a Johannesburg restaurant in December has been dropped. Attwell, an insurance clerk, led three Africans and another White man to a table where two White girls awaited them. They sat for five minutes without being served before being asked by the manager to leave. Outside the store the Africans were arrested by Special Branch detectives.

One of the Africans—Joseph Mosoeu—pleaded not guilty to a charge of contravening the Group Areas Act under which mixed races may not be served together in restaurants. The two other Africans are to be charged separately.

Passport Seizure

Mr. Hugh Lewin, a 21-year-old vice-president (international relations) of the National Union of South African Students, has had his passport seized. Last year he attended a student conference in Ibadan, Nigeria, and he also visited Ghana, where he was obliged to sign the anti-apartheid declaration. (*S.A. Sunday Times.*)

Durban Beach

A committee of Durban City Council has decided to defy a refusal by the Government's Group Areas Board to allow the municipality to provide facilities for Asians and Africans on the city's beaches. The municipality is to go ahead with the provision of the necessary amenities for these two race groups, representing more than two-thirds of the city's inhabitants, and for the Coloured population.

The Mayor, Mr. Cyril Milne, said: "It is up to the Government to take whatever steps it wants against the City Council or against anyone who uses the facilities we provide." (*The Times*, February 2.)

Alexandra Township Threatened?

Mrs. Kathleen Mitchell (Progressive Party) told the Johannesburg City Council that the Government was planning a wholesale removal of Non-Whites from Alexandra. Mrs. Mitchell recalled that Dr. Verwoerd, as Minister of Native Affairs, had said in 1957 that Alexandra would not be removed completely. Mrs. Mitchell said: "In spite of what the Minister said, this is no slum clearance scheme—it is a wholesale removal scheme. I have heard that properties are being bought up by the Resettlement Board and that there appears to be no move to use the properties for rehousing displaced Africans. Families are told to sell all their furniture and belongings and the men to report to a hostel in one of the adjoining towns. It seems that we have been lulled into a false sense of security after Sharpeville and the emergency. People have forgotten that the laws which brought about Sharpeville are still on the Statute Book." (*Rand Daily Mail*, February 1.)

A Peri-Urban Board official said that Mrs. Mitchell had it all wrong. Mr. C. H. Kotze, manager of Bantu Administration of the Peri-Urban Health Areas, said that the population of Alexandra Township, now overcrowded, was being thinned to 30,000 or 40,000. Africans who worked in Johannesburg or away from the suburbs north of Johannesburg were being sent away. It was planned to turn Alexandra into an area exclusively for Africans employed in the suburbs north of Johannesburg.

"This sometimes brings the African stand owners into difficulties, because they lose their tenants," said Mr. Kotze. "In that case we arrange to buy the property. Most of the stands are worth about £1,400 with improvements. The stands are bigger than in most African townships, but many are grossly overcrowded. Few Bantu people can pay £1,400 for a stand. The policy, at any rate at this stage, is to lease the houses immediately to Bantu from the suburbs north of Johannesburg and from Randburg, but not to sell them to Bantu purchasers."

Convention Movement

The "Convention Movement" which has arisen almost overnight in South Africa is one of the most important political developments since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948. An all-African convention will be held in Pietermaritzburg on March 26. This will be followed by an all-Coloured (mixed race) convention in Cape Town during June. Finally, an all-Indian convention will be held. These three preliminary conventions will then unite in a single national multi-racial convention at which all sympathetic Whites will be welcome.

The multi-racial convention will seek co-operation across the Colour line and attempt to draw up a constitution acceptable to all democratically-minded South Africans. The majority of the members of the planning Committee for the Coloured convention are moderates and right-wingers.

Government circles are alarmed over this development among the Coloureds, traditionally a politically apathetic and divided people who have never seriously challenged the Government's race policies.

The emergence of political activity among the Coloureds is directly due to Dr. Verwoerd's policy statement a few months ago in which he said no political concessions would be made to the 1½ million Coloureds in South Africa. Moderate Cape Nationalists until then had been wooing the Coloureds and telling them they belonged in the White camp. (*Observer*, February 26.)

Dutch Reformed Church Controversy

"The equality of White and Non-White in Church, State and society was rejected by all speakers who took part . . . in the debate on the race problem at the 34th General Synod of the Gereformeerde Kerk in Potchefstroom," reported *Die Transvaler* (January 28). The discussions were held in camera "so that delegates were perfectly free to state their opinions and views". The discussion was in terms of an extensive report by the Theological School; Professor H. de Plessis (Mission Science); Professor W. J. Snyman ("well-known New Testament exegetist") and with Professor L. J. de Plessis (particularly as legal adviser); Professor J. H. Coetzee (particularly as ethnologist) and ds. B. J. Lombard.

The conclusions of the committee included the following:

The Bible and Christianity, although originating in the East in antiquity and disseminated through the West particularly in modern times, were not Eastern or Western, but derived from God and were destined for the whole of mankind without distinction.

It recognized the unity of mankind in creation and re-creation through

the Pentecost miracle but rejected the false unity striving of humanity since Babel and its Babylonian heritage. God himself accomplished the division of humanity and diversities, i.e. in races, cultural circles, peoples, etc., and determined for all nations their vocation times and dwelling places until the end.

No one was in himself superior or inferior although each had a particular calling in terms of aptitude, circumstances and level of development. All, however, were called to eventual self-determination and self-realization in freedom.

Ecclesiastical unity—primarily to be regarded as spiritual and not organizational unity—was realized organizationally in its ecumenical context (on the international level) in terms of the fundamental unity of doctrine, service and discipline but with national differentiation in order to comply with each people's particular needs.

In South Africa, different nationalities were established within the same State and on the same territory whereas a territory and State authority of one's own was the best guarantee for peaceful co-existence. Each was entitled to his own nationality. In South Africa, church mixing between Whites and Non-Whites was not desirable.

The particular vocation of the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in South Africa was—with the maximum possible international affiliation—to help develop for the different Non-White national groups in Southern Africa an independent, national reformed church connexion which must be scripturally reformed but no servile imitation of the White church institution.

The leading article in *Die Voorligter* (February 1961), popular edition of *Die Kerkbode* and organ of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa, said that there appeared to be a "good deal of confusion and uncertainty among many of our church members" about the decisions of the World Council of Churches' Conference in Johannesburg.[1] "If one notes the flood of correspondence in the public Press as well as the editorial comment, one realizes that this incident has deeply affected our church life."

The journal said that many correspondents did not possess the necessary facts. Some were disappointed in their leaders, others rejoiced and others were angry. For certain groups, there could be no greater joy than division in the Church. "We must not co-operate with this." There were also people on both sides who wanted to drag in pure politics into the Church differences. The journal asked our "loyal, well-wishing members" to show a little more patience and faith. "We do not believe that anyone among our church delegation deliberately intended to infringe our Church's policy, still less to behave unscripturally and without love." The article asked members first to listen to the churchmen concerned when they explained their views at the conferences in February and the synods later. "Meanwhile, we must all do two things: Refrain from any word or deed that can harm the Church of Christ and pray with child-like sincerity and self-humiliation for God's merciful guidance."

A resolution urging the Dutch Reformed Church to withdraw from the World Council of Churches was passed by the Church Council of the Capital Park East congregation (Pretoria). It said that membership created confusion and uncertainty. (*Die Transvaler*, February 3.) A similar statement was made by the Elandsfontein (Germiston) congregation. (*Die Transvaler*, February 6.) A resolution in the same vein was passed by the Parys West congregation. (*Die Transvaler*, February 7.)

The editor of *Die Voorligter*, speaking in Johannesburg, said that the Dutch Reformed Church delegates to the Johannesburg conference should only have reported back to their synods. Among the disputed decisions was that on mixed marriages. On the decision that it was part of the dignity of the adult human being to have the right to own land where he was domiciled, ds. Burger said that the delegates did not consider all the implications of that decision. It was a "slip". He wished that all the articles and letters in the Press and elsewhere could be undone. It was now everybody's duty to avoid a split in the Church. He described the delegates as outstanding, loyal and capable churchmen, some of whom were leaders. He had great respect for them. (*Die Transvaler and Die Volksblad*, February 4.)

In radio talks on "The State's Vocation in Regard to the Church" ds. A. P. Treurnicht, editor of *Die Kerkbode*, said the State could not ignore the Church as a less important corporation in the public sphere, and also could not place specific political interest above Church interests or the clear demands of the Scriptures. The State was an equal servant of God, alongside the Church. The State must not dominate the Church nor should there be undermining of the just authority of the State. The State should not tolerate the preaching in the public sphere of unbelief. Sunday labour in State departments must be restricted to a minimum. Because the State had to deal with a multiplicity of churches, it should not elevate one church to State Church and give it privileges above the others. (*Die Volksblad*, February 2.)

[1]DIGEST VIII, 4.

Bishop's Resignation

Dr. Ambrose Reeves has resigned the See of Johannesburg. Dr. Reeves was expelled as an undesirable immigrant by the South African Government after his statements and actions after last year's disorders.

The Archbishop of Cape Town in a Press statement paid tribute to Dr. Reeves for the "service he rendered his own diocese and the whole province since his consecration in 1949. His wisdom, insight, and concern for social justice, his love for the underprivileged will never be forgotten, and South Africa is immeasurably poorer for his going."

The Archbishop says that Dr. Reeves's resignation will be seen by many as a victory for the anti-Christian forces in South Africa. The forcible removal of a bishop cannot be characterized otherwise than as an act of religious persecution—an act abhorrent to all faithful churchmen. Nevertheless, he says, it is essential for the diocese to have a bishop and the bishops of the Province of South Africa have accepted Dr. Reeves's resignation with heavy hearts. (*The Times*, March 3.)

The *Guardian* (March 3) commented: "Last year the (Commonwealth) Prime Ministers met in the shadow of the Sharpeville killings, about which Dr. Reeves has made it his mission to tell the world. Now his resignation will serve as a new reminder of the sort of State that South Africa is."

Mr. Hammarskjoeld's Visit

Mr. D. Hammarskjoeld told the Security Council that although no immediate mutually acceptable solution for the problem of the Union of South Africa's racial policies emerged during the consultations between him and Dr. Verwoerd, the talks nevertheless "served a most useful purpose", and that he would pursue his efforts during one or more future visits to the Union "at an appropriate time".

In extending the invitation to future consultations, the Union Government said it had found the talks "useful and constructive".

The Secretary-General told the Council that he had six meetings with the Prime Minister. In Capetown, Umtata, Johannesburg and Pretoria he had "opportunities to have unofficial contacts with members of various sections of the South African community". Regarding his talks with Dr. Verwoerd, Mr. Hammarskjoeld said he did not regard this lack of agreement as "conclusive", and wished to give the matter his "further consideration".

The Times (January 24) commented from this rather bald and generalized report it may be deduced that the Union Government has not altered in any essential its stand on racial policy but that it wishes to remain in touch with the Secretary-General, who is in effect its only intermediary against the very real resentment of most member states of the United Nations.

"Opposing Apartheid in 1961"

The Executive of the Africa Bureau issued a document entitled "Opposing Apartheid in 1961"[1] which reviewed policies open to those who support the use of overseas influence to change South Africa's racial policies:

The Executive pointed out that: (i) its purpose in opposing apartheid is to assist in the creation of democracy in South Africa towards which no progress can be made so long as the colour bar is enforced by law; (ii) that the measures it proposes are called for by many organizations and individuals in South Africa who oppose the Nationalist Government; and (iii) that the great majority of the inhabitants of South Africa are opposed to the present Government but are without a vote.

[1]Full statement obtainable from Africa Bureau (price 6d.).

The Executive favoured South Africa leaving the Commonwealth when it became a Republic on May 31, 1961.

The Executive supported the consumer boycott of South African goods, and stated that an embargo on oil and petrol deliveries to South African ports and a refusal of landing rights to South African planes in the independent African States should be considered by those in a position to enforce them.

Sports and cultural boycotts should be encouraged and strengthened so that South Africa is prevented from maintaining its colour bar if it wishes to take part in international sporting events and to invite overseas artists to its theatres and concert halls.

The Executive called for a drastic revision of British policy at the United Nations on questions affecting South Africa. The United Kingdom vote should be used to oppose apartheid and in particular its imposition on South West Africa.

In addition to economic, cultural and sports boycotts and Commonwealth and international pressures, the Executive called for energetic and imaginative development of the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland. It welcomed the proposals of the Economic Commission which reported on the territories in July 1960.[1]

The Executive also pointed to two administrative changes designed to increase the confidence and sense of security of the inhabitants of the three territories by removing them from the orbit of South Africa: (i) A separate High Commissioner should be appointed. Sir John Maud is at present both High Commissioner for the Territories and the British Government's representative in South Africa where he resides; and (ii) the administrative centre of Bechuanaland should be moved to within the borders of the Territory instead of being in Mafeking in South Africa, where apartheid laws obtain.

The High Commission Territories should become Britain's shop-window in Southern Africa, exhibiting an alternative to apartheid.

South West Africa

At the United Nations

THE nine-member United Nations Committee on South West Africa reported officially to the General Assembly on the refusal of the Union of South Africa to facilitate a visit by the committee to the territory of South West Africa to investigate conditions there, as requested by the Assembly last December.

The Committee says it "profoundly regrets this further evidence of the continued refusal of the Union Government to co-operate with the Committee in the implementation of resolutions of the General Assembly". The report is submitted for the Assembly's consideration "so that the Committee may be guided accordingly".

In declining to grant facilities for the Committee's visit, the South African Government argued that since the question of South West Africa was now before the International Court of Justice, it was therefore *sub judice* and could neither be discussed nor acted upon in any way. (*U.N. News*, March 7.)

On March 13, 1961, the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly of United Nations agreed to appeal to those members of the United Nations "having close and continuous relations with the Government of the Dominion of South Africa" (meaning the members of the Commonwealth) to bring all their moral influence to bear on that Government, so as to ensure that it adjusts its conduct in the territory of South West Africa to its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations.

The Trusteeship Committee had been debating the matter for two days in the light of the Union Government's refusal to allow the committee to visit South West Africa.

Several representatives urged that the resolution, while not necessarily perfect, be adopted on an emergency basis so as to bring it to the attention of the Prime Ministers' conference in London while the question of South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth was still being considered. (*The Times*, March 14.)

[1]See Economic Survey in DIGESTS VIII, 3–5.

International Issue and the Election

Elections to the South West African Legislative Assembly took place on March 8, resulting in a victory for the Nationalist Party.

A move was made by the Nationalist Party of South West Africa before the election date was announced, to reach an agreement with the Opposition, the United National South West Party, on the international position of the territory. A Nationalist Party statement said a solution must be found on a national basis. It should be of such a nature that it would satisfy all sections of the population. The statement said there was no need for unrest and panic in the territory and that there would be a pleasant and peaceful future for both Whites and Non-Whites in the country. The Head Committee of the Nationalist Party in South West Africa assured the Non-Whites that the proposed planning will not in any way undermine their position, but will assure them a happy future in South West Africa. They will be consulted where necessary. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, December 21.)

The *Cape Argus* (January 6) said that the early date chosen by the Nationalist Party régime for the election seemed to put paid to hopes of negotiations for arriving at a common approach to the international situation.

Mr. J. P. Niehaus, leader of the United National South West African Party, said that the announcement of such an early date for the elections had taken him by surprise. His Party would be obliged to fight the election on the basis of South West Africa's international situation.

Mr. Japie Basson, M.P., said the Nationalists had hastened the elections because the Commonwealth conference was to be held on March 8 and they wished to have the election disposed of before the results of the conference were known in case the Prime Minister had difficulties at the conference which might turn the tide against the Nationalists. Also the Nationalists wished to take advantage of the tide of support for their Party while it was still running strongly.

On February 1, thirty-six candidates were nominated for the eighteen constituencies; eighteen Nationalists, sixteen U.N.S.W.P., and two by the South West Party which has come to a "united front" agreement with the U.N.S.W.P.

Mr. J. P. Niehaus at his first election meeting accused the Nationalists of putting Party interests before those of the White man in Southern Africa. When it came to the choice between Afrikaner "baasskap" or improving the White man's position in Southern Africa, the Nationalist Party chose Afrikaner "baasskap".

Referring to the mandate question, Mr. Niehaus said that South Africa was now being summoned before the world court, "like a criminal that has stolen something which does not belong to her". This was a scandalous state of affairs, and a gross indignity and insult to every South African.

The Nationalists' dishonesty stemmed from February 1946 when they said that no reports should be sent to the United Nations because this world organization had no say about the mandate. This was political dishonesty. When they came into power in 1948, they had to continue their political dishonesty. Today South West was on the brink of disaster. Mr. Niehaus went on to say that the only hope he could see was a change in government, which would give the period of grace needed to find a solution to save the Territory. (*Windhoek Advertiser*, February 9.)

Herero Journalists Escape[1]

Mr. Emil Appolus, the Herero journalist who was returned to South Africa from Northern Rhodesia last October, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for breaking emigration regulations, has escaped from Mafeking jail, and made his way to Tanganyika with three of his fellow countrymen.

With him is Mr. P. Andreas Shipanga. He worked in Hermanus, Cape holiday resort. He was twice kept in custody by the South African police who wanted to know if he knew anything of Mr. Mburumba Kerina, South West African petitioner at the United Nations, or whether he received letters from him, At that time Mr. Shipanga took no interest in politics, but these incidents made him become active.

He was deported from the Union to South West Africa, but the authorities there refused to give him a permit to seek work and advised

[1]DIGEST VIII, 3.

him to return to Hermanus or else to the reserve. He returned to Cape Town, where he found a temporary job which earned him the money which took him to Tanganyika.

WEST AFRICA

Angola

Disturbances

DISTURBANCES occurred in Luanda on February 4, killing an estimated sixteen people, including six policemen and one army corporal. The local official radio station, civil and military prisons, and a police barracks were attacked. (*Guardian*, February 6.)

The Portuguese News Agency *Ani* said three groups armed with machine-guns attacked, apparently bent on freeing prisoners. Many people who took part in the attacks were detained. The National Secretariat of Information in Lisbon said the Governor-General had received overseas reports that the attacks were linked with the assault on the *Santa Maria*, the Portuguese liner captured by Captain H. Galvao. (*Observer*, February 5.)

Further shooting occurred at the funeral for the policemen killed, bringing the death roll to thirty-one, according to official statements. It was disclosed that four Portuguese White men were involved in the attacks and that about forty to fifty of the African attackers were in prison and others in hospital. (*Guardian*, February 8.)

Censorship was imposed in Luanda, almost cutting off the city completely from the outside world. Cables were held up indefinitely and telephone calls severely restricted. (*Daily Telegraph*, February 7.)

The Government, in an official statement about the clashes, said the attackers were found on admission to prison to have been heavily drugged with marijuana and too stupefied to know what they were doing. It was hoped soon to produce copies of captured documents proving the foreign origin of the events. (*Daily Telegraph*, February 8.)

A company of Portuguese paratroopers trained in jungle warfare left for Angola on February 7. Portuguese newspapers reported that armed police units were searching outside Luanda for fleeing members of the groups that attacked the Government centres. (*Guardian*, February 8.)

Clandestine leaflets were distributed in Luanda promising new uprisings in other parts of Angola, according to a Lisbon report. The Portuguese Government Press said the Opposition leaders visited the President and urged him to restore "fundamental liberties" to the country. (*Guardian*, February 9.)

Four foreign correspondents, from the *Daily Express*, the *Guardian*, I.T.V., and N.B.C., were expelled from Angola on February 10, when they had inquired after a colleague who was reported shot by a Portuguese officer. (*The Times*, February 11.)

In the following week the Luanda police carried out "mopping up" operations to arrest a group of men who were hiding. Unconfirmed reports said seven were killed, ten injured and twenty were arrested. (*West Africa*, February 18.)

At the United Nations Liberia asked the Security Council to discuss the disturbances. On March 10 the Council agreed to add the question to its agenda, after receiving the strong support of the U.S.S.R., the U.A.R., and Ceylon. There was considerable doubt raised, however, about the Council's competence to consider such a case of abuse of human rights in a body designed to maintain international peace. (*The Times*, March 11.)

Liberia's request for discussion of Angola was supported by the Afro-Asian group. When discussion began, Ceylon, Liberia and the U.A.R., the three Afro-Asian members of the Council, introduced a resolution which would:

(1) Call on Portugal to consider urgently the introduction of measures and reforms in Angola designed to implement the last resolution passed by the General Assembly in December 1960, with due respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and in accordance with the United Nations Charter.

(2) Decide to appoint a sub-committee to examine the statements made before the Security Council concerning Angola, to receive further statements and documents, to conduct such inquiries as it may deem necessary, and report this to the Security Council as soon as possible. Although this resolution did not call for sending a commission of inquiry to Angola, it did not receive the required seven positive votes in its favour. (*The Times*, March 15.)

The United States and the U.S.S.R. voted in favour but Britain abstained. New disturbances were reported in Angola on March 17.

Cameroons, British

Plebiscites in North and South

Northern Cameroons.—Provisional final figures in the plebiscite show a majority of about 47,000 votes in favour of joining the Nigerian Federation. A total of 145,265 people voted for Nigeria, and 97,654 for joining the Cameroun Republic, formerly a French trust territory. About 83 per cent of those registered voted. (*News from Nigeria*, February 18.)

Southern Cameroons.—181,464 were for union with the Cameroun Republic, and 46,250 for joining the Nigerian Federation.

In comment, *The Economist* (February 18) said the results of the plebiscite only solved half the problem of the future of this British trust territory. While the Northern Cameroons will join its more wealthy neighbour, Nigeria, it is unlikely that the Southern Cameroons' fate has been settled. "Its Prime Minister, Mr. Henry Foncha, does not really want to join his territory to the Cameroun Republic. Even if he did, the union of a former English with a former French territory would present difficulties, Mr. Foncha hopes the negotiations for union will break down and his Government will gain independence by default." He looks to aid for development from Britain, which would pose the question of whether Britain wants to give a parting instalment of aid to its departing dependency.

West Africa (February 11) expressed concern over the plebiscite because the voters, though they had a fair idea what union with Nigeria might mean, had no notion of the implications of union with the Cameroun Republic. No terms of union had been worked out and the economic and financial results are unknown. After the poll was taken, *West Africa* (February 18) asked if the Southern Cameroons police could be expanded to deal with any possible spreading of the armed rebellion in the Cameroun Republic when its border with the Southern Cameroons is abolished.

The United Nations had insisted that women be allowed to vote in the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons, where hitherto they had not been granted the franchise. After registration it was discovered that women had outnumbered the men by 131,102 to 129,662. *West Africa* commented on this situation, saying that the reunion to Northern Nigeria "creates no serious administrative problem, and its chief interest is whether now that women have been allowed to vote in the plebiscite the Northern Regional Government will consider extending the franchise for ordinary elections'.' (*West Africa*, February 18; *The Times*, January 11.)

In a cable to United Nations Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjoeld, dated February 14, Aime Raymond N'Thepe, permanent representative of the Cameroun Republic, referred to "disorders provoked by Nigerians under the eyes of the acquiescent Nigerian and United Kingdom police" and to "attacks directed against Camerounian representatives" during the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons. His Government has asked the United Nations to declare the vote in the Northern Cameroons null and void, and asked that the question be placed on the General Assembly's agenda for the session which opened March 7. (*U.N. News*, February 21; *West Africa*, March 4.)

The people of Nkambe Division in the Southern Cameroons have petitioned the Trusteeship Council of United Nations that they should be merged with Nigeria. Their cultural affinity and ethnic relations with Nigerians, especially those of the Northern Cameroons, were pointed out. It was also argued that people thought they were voting for an independent Cameroons, not reunification with the Cameroun Republic. Moreover, the plebiscite showed that the people of the Division preferred to rejoin Nigeria. (*West African Pilot*, February 25.)

Dr. Endeley's Cameroons People's National Convention is to call on the United Nations to partition the Southern Cameroons according to the results of the plebiscite. The votes of those wanting union with Cameroun should not be binding on those wishing to rejoin Nigeria. (*Daily Times*, February 27.)

The Premier of Eastern Nigeria announced on February 28 that the Government had voted a considerable sum of money to meet any problems arising if refugees seek asylum in the region following the plebiscite in the Southern Cameroons.

A joint communique from the President of the Cameroun Republic and the President of the Southern Cameroons stated that they have agreed on initial arrangements for federation, and will meet the British delegation to study practical problems arising from the transfer of sovereignty. "On the plebiscite itself, they decided to do everything possible to have the decision in the Northern Cameroons annulled." (*Daily Express*, March 6.)

The Premier of Northern Nigeria, in a statement to the House of Assembly on this joint communique, said that his Government would ensure that nothing stops the implementation of the results of the plebiscite in the Northern Cameroons.

The Prime Minister of Nigeria said at a Press conference, before he left to attend the Prime Ministers' Conference in London, that the situation in the Southern Cameroons was explosive because all the elements in the Congo crisis exist there. The *West African Pilot* (March 7) said: "The nation also supports him in his declaration that Nigeria will not be a party to the dismemberment of the neighbouring countries, but when either of them chooses to dismember itself, any part that would desire to join Nigeria could do so and would be welcomed.

"Expansionism is not in itself a bad thing. It is natural. What is wrong is not, therefore, the idea, but the way the objective is pursued and achieved by certain nations. So far, since the attainment of independence, we have given no cause to any of our neighbours to doubt the sincerity of our declaration.

"But on the Cameroons question, a lot of misunderstanding is bound to arise unless the Federal Government makes our objective clear. We have stated on more than one occasion that the Federation has nothing . . . to lose if the Southern Cameroons ultimately sever all connexion with us. We have nursed that ailing child of late German imperialism in Africa since she was brought to us by the British imperialists through the League of Nations. Today although she cannot be said to be a full-grown adult, the credit goes to Nigeria and her people that she can at least stand on her feet. Otherwise the Fonchas will be languishing in the plantations.

"The question of Southern Cameroons is, in our opinion, one of prestige. We do not believe the game is lost. We do not believe we have lost our brothers and sisters in the Southern Cameroons. Time shall decide this. But much as we all believe that the elements that made the Congo the problem child of world peace exist in abundance in the Southern Cameroons, we do not think the Federal Government should abdicate her duty to the people of Nigeria and the innocent masses of the Southern Cameroons. We want peace, but not at all cost."

Ghana

Financial Policy

PRESIDENT NKRUMAH'S office issued an official statement on January 12 that the views expressed by the Deputy Governor of the Bank of Ghana, Mr. K. Amoako-Atta, about the future of foreign-owned commercial banks and insurance companies "in no way represent the policy of the President, his Government, or the Convention People's Party". On January 3 the Deputy Governor said that such institutions would gradually have to contract out, and that ultimately one national insurance company would be formed. Mr. Amoako-Atta said, in reply to questions, that he was not speaking on behalf of the Government, but as a member of a Convention People's Party study group. (*The Times*, January 13 and 17.)

The Ghanaian Minister of Finance announced on January 30 that contrary to rumour the Ghana pound would not be devalued. Ghana could not change the pound's declared value without consulting the International Monetary Fund, of which it is a member. (*Ghana Daily Graphic*, January 31.)

Purchase of Gold Mines

On January 24 two London gold mining companies, Bibiani (1927) Ltd., and Amalgamated Banket Areas, proposed to close wholly or partially, mines at Bibiani and Tarkwa, south-west Ghana, because they were becoming uneconomic to operate.

The Ghana Government notified the companies that they could not do this without the permission of the Government, or else face a £100,000 fine. A Mines (Amendment) Bill, published on January 24 made executives of the firms liable to up to ten years' imprisonment also.

The Times (January 25) stated that "The impending closures have been hastened by a 30 per cent increase for their workers last summer and the Government's refusal of financial help in meeting this increased bill and for the companies' efforts to develop the mines by searching for further ore deposits". It also noted that gold makes up one-tenth of Ghana's export income and the two companies involved produce about 30 per cent of the country's gold. The Ghana Government replied to the statement that it had offered a loan of £150,000 to Amalgamated for mine development. The Government noted that Bibiani had paid a 10 per cent dividend in 1960 and so did not need a loan. Also Bibiani had close financial connexion with Ashanti Goldfields, which was making very high profits and could assist Bibiani. (*The Times*, January 26.)

On February 8, Ghana made a take-over bid for five British gold-mining companies, including Amalgamated and Bibiani. The shares of the five firms is presently valued at £2.75 million, so the Ghana Government offer of £5,166,000 was considered generous. (*Daily Telegraph*, February 9.)

The Times (February 8) called the offer a "sensible answer, which it is thought the companies should accept. . . . His (Dr. Nkrumah's) offer to take over the gold on reasonable terms, is to that extent a sign of moderation."

West Africa (February 11) commented that "the problem of what to do with marginal gold mines remains unsolved. What is now gained is that future calculations will be made at leisure and in the national interest. That the Government will now turn losses into profits is unlikely: the Americans have reaffirmed only recently that they have no intention of taking the one step which would alter the basic situation of marginal mines: to raise the price of gold."

After the details of the Ghana offer were known, directors of both mining groups involved recommended acceptance of the terms. It is expected that formal offers to shareholders will be sent out in March and if the operation goes smoothly, the actual pay out should come by the end of April. (*West Africa*, February 11.)

The Ghana Government then decided to drop its recent Mines (Amendment) Bill if the shareholders accept the Government's share offer and take-over bid. The chairman of Ghana's Development Secretariat has officially stated to the Chamber of Mines that the Government wished to co-operate fully with mining firms in the private sector and that there was no intention to nationalize or otherwise acquire any other gold mines. On the contrary negotiations are continuing with Ashanti Goldfields for a possible extension of its concession. Also the country's concessions law would be brought up to date. (*West Africa*, Februay 18.)

In March, details of the composition of the Ghana State Mining Corporation which is to be the holding company for the shares of the five mines the Government has offered to buy were announced. The Corporation will not run the mines but will direct over-all policy under guidance from the Government. The Corporation is to have a board of seven directors, together with fifty workers (ten from each of the five companies) who will act "in a purely consultative and advisory capacity". The executive director of the Ghana Development Secretariat, Mr. E. Ayeh-Kumi, will be the chairman of the new Corporation. (*West Africa*, March 11.)

Developments on Volta Project

The draft agreement between the consortium of aluminium companies and the Ghana Government for building and aluminium smelter has been

published and the way is now believed clear for the Volta dam project. The consortium, Valco, which consists of Kaiser Aluminium, Olin Mathieson, Reynolds Aluminium and Alcoa, has a guarantee that its tax rates will remain at present levels for thirty years, while for ten years the group is exempt from all taxes, including import and export duty and dividend taxes. The agreement runs for thirty years and Valco has the option to renew it for a further twenty. The Government guarantees that there will be no interference with the company in this first period and after that, if it is nationalized, there would be prompt and fair compensation. If Ghana should enter into a confederation of African States there would be no change in the consortium's status.

Under the agreement Valco will build a smelter at Tema reaching a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts eight years after the award of the Volta Dam contract and 300,000 kilowatts not later than eight years after that. Valco will be given the right to mine bauxite in Ghana and the existing concessions of the West African Aluminium Company will be transferred to Valco. For ten years, however, imported alumina will be used, after which Valco will use as much Ghana bauxite as possible and will be given inducement to use it. Valco guarantees to purchase electric power worth £2.5 million after six years' working, a guarantee which is essential if the Ghana Government, which is not participating financially in the consortium, is to service the loans it uses for the Volta Dam. (*West Africa*, February 25, March 4.)

The Ghana National Assembly has approved the agreement unanimously.

Ghana's Finance Minister, Mr. K. A. Gbedemah, has received "firm assurances" from the United States Government and the World Bank that a total of $70 million (£25 million) would be available to the Volta project when the final details were settled. The construction contract for the dam is expected to be awarded in April. (*West Africa*, March 11.)

Power should start to flow in September 1965.

Foreign Policy

The Government declared its attitude on Algerian affairs in a statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

(1) The Ghana Government reiterates its view that it cannot recognize any referendum unilaterally organized by France in Algeria. The referendum in Algeria could only be meaningful if it were conducted under the supervision of the United Nations and if all Algerian exiles were invited to participate in it. . . . The Government of Ghana therefore considers the referendum void.

(2) Ghana is in duty bound to assist the Algerian people, and declares its determination to give all political, diplomatic and material aid to the Algerian people in their struggle to determine for themselves their own constitutional, social, and economic system. . . .

(3) Ghana considers any aid given to the Algerian people in their just struggle represents a notable contribution to the glorious liberation of Africa. Furthermore, any assistance given to France directly or indirectly through N.A.T.O. constitutes an act of hostility against Africa and stands condemned by all politically emancipated Africans.

(4) It is a matter of deep regret and concern that African troops are serving under French command in Algeria, and the Government of Ghana is of the opinion that unless these African troops are specifically asked to express their willingness to fight in Algeria they cannot in all conscience be guilty of any crime should they find it impossible to carry out any duties expected of them. (*Ghana Today*, February 1.)

President Tito of Yugoslavia paid an official visit to Ghana from February 28 to March 4. He also visited Togoland, Liberia, Guinea, Morocco, Tunisia, and the U.A.R. (*Observer*, February 12.)

President Nkrumah and the C.P.P.

The Ghanaian National Assembly has voted President Nkrumah a tax-free pension of £6,000 a year on his retirement as President. He will also receive a gratuity of £10,000 at the end of his current five-year term as President. If he serves a second term, the gratuity will be £15,000, and if a third £20,000. The President's basic salary is £12,000, plus allowances. (*The Times*, November 30.)

President Nkrumah is to take over as general secretary of the Convention People's Party on May 1. He will also become chairman of the Party's central committee. (*The Times*, March 6.)

The Convention People's Party has announced the introduction of weekly lectures on "Marxist theory and socialist practice" at Ghana University College. People wishing to attend will be taken by buses provided by the Party. (*The Times*, January 19.)

Co-operative Party Official Expelled

Mr. Jack Bailey, secretary of the British Co-operative Party, was expelled from Ghana when on a fact-finding mission. He wrote in the Party's monthly journal: "I cannot yet persuade myself that we should condemn suppression and political discrimination in South Africa but condone it in Ghana. Nor should we be silent when our Co-operative friends are hounded out of their offices and their organizations are liquidated, or use smooth words when a genuine and successful voluntary Co-operative movement is ruthlessly destroyed.

"I could wish that some of our own parties who are great champions of colonial peoples would spare a thought for some of the present outcasts who devoted a lifetime of service to the creation of the now suppressed genuine Co-operative movement in Ghana. I hate suppression, whether it is in Franco's Spain or Nkrumah's Ghana." (*Observer*, February 5.)

The International Co-operative Alliance passed a resolution criticizing the treatment of Mr. Bailey and the Co-operative Movement in Ghana.

The resolution was carried on a postal vote of the I.C.A. executive by twelve votes to two. It deplored the dissolution of the Ghana Co-operative Bank, the frustration of the project for a Co-operative insurance society, and the break-up of the Co-operative Marketing Association.

"It is a cause of serious concern," it continued, "that the treatment of Mr. Bailey, who visited Ghana on a fact-finding mission for the I.C.A. of which the Government of Ghana was properly advised in advance, was offensive in the extreme, showing that the authorities in Ghana did not desire information about their suppression of the voluntary Co-operative movement to become known to the outside world.

"The I.C.A. deeply regrets the disappearance of a valued member organization and condemns the methods employed, which are not in keeping with the principles of a social democracy which Ghana claims to be." (*The Times*, March 2.)

Guinea

Electricity Nationalized

PRESIDENT SEKOU TOURÉ has announced the nationalization of the Guinean Electric Power Company and Water Works. He said that the malfunctioning of these companies had imperilled the country's economic and social security. The companies were operated on a mixed private-public basis, with the French Electricité de France one of the shareholders. The President said shareholders would be reimbursed all the sums legally due them and that the companies' commitments would be respected "to the extent they were compatible with Guinea's national interest". Ten French technicians of the electric company were expelled on two-hour notice and their places have reportedly been taken by Czech and Soviet technicians. An unconfirmed report connects the nationalization with the power failure which occurred at the opening of the Chinese exhibition at Conakry. (*West Africa*, February 11.)

Trade with the West

The large majority of Guinea's trade is being done with the West, according to the foreign trade figures for the first three-quarters of 1960. The franc zone remained the largest single trading partner. In the period, Guinea exported about £2.3 million (1,600 million Guinea francs) to the U.S.S.R. and other Communist countries, and imported £5.3 million from

them. A large part of the imports are capital goods for the three-year plan, paid for by long-term loans.

Imports from all other countries were £7.2 million and exports were £11.8 million. Of this the franc zone provided £5.3 million in imports and £6.3 million in exports. About 80 per cent of the petrol products came from the West. (*West Africa*, February 25.)

Private Trading

President Sekou Touré has told the Chamber of Commerce that in the future the Ministry of Commerce will not discriminate between public and private enterprises when allocating import licences. He said that the State trading organizations set up in 1960 had failed through inexperience in their task of taking over import and export wholesaling. Besides private importing, Guinean traders will be allowed to purchase foodstuffs wherever supplies were plentiful. All enterprises must still submit annual statements to the Government for proposed imports and these will be consolidated into a national programme. The State will still retain control over currency exchange and will introduce a system of price control and restriction on black markets. (*West Africa*, March 11.)

Mali

Foreign Aid

M. Maderia Keita, Minister of the Interior and of Information, led a delegation to the Soviet Union. In the course of a ten-day visit, several agreements were reached. Mali has been granted a long term loan of 40 million roubles. Priority will be given to mineral prospecting. The money will also be used for the building of a sports ground and educational centre in Bamako, and there are also preparations for the building of a railway.

The two countries have agreed to treat one another as most favoured nations. Russia will deliver machinery and laminated products, oil products and chemical fertilizers in exchange for Mali's groundnuts, cotton and handicrafts.

A third agreement has been reached on cultural exchange but its terms have not been revealed. These agreements are in all respects similar to those the U.S.S.R. signed last year with all the Afro-Asian states of any importance which had asked for aid. (*Le Monde*, March 21.)

Nigeria

Demands for Constitutional Change

Chief Awolowo, in his presidential address to the Midwest conference of the Action Group, said his suggestion that Nigeria should become a Republic had not yet been discussed by the Federal Executive Council of the Action Group. His reasons were:

(*a*) Shameless manoeuvring on the part of the British for the maintenance of the position of economic dominance and political preferences which they enjoyed before independence.

(*b*) Our association with the British Crown also induces in many an influential Nigerian an attitude of mind which is easily amenable to any undue influence which Britain in her own interests may wish to exert.

(*c*) We would be following worthy precedents if three or four years after independence we adopt a republican form of government.

(*d*) British Imperial stature, about which we heard so much in school, is a diminishing asset. To retain for long our present link with the Imperial Crown is to share in the cumulative odious liabilities of British imperialism.

(*e*) The temper of the younger generations of Nigerian politicians and nationalists does not at all brook the retention of the present link with the British Crown.

Chief Awolowo said he envisaged the Indian type of Republic. (*Daily Express*, Lagos, March 1.)

He also severely criticized the Federal Prime Minister, and once again called for the creation of more states, particularly a Middle Belt State.

At a Press dinner on March 2, M. Ikoki, leader of the Opposition in the Eastern House of Assembly, put forward a plan for fighting what he described as "new colonialism". His five-point plan, as reported in the *Daily Express* (March 4), is as follows:

(*a*) Amend the constitution to remove the power of Regional Governments to attract foreign investment and replace it with powers to raise loans. By this, the enterprise with which the loan was established would be state-owned and the country will only pay interest on the loan.

(*b*) Make foreign trade a state monopoly. There should be an integrated economic planning in order to present a united force against the penetration of foreign investors.

(*c*) Nationalization of any concern whenever the need arises. For immediate nationalization, he suggested the shipping and insurance businesses. He envisaged that a state compulsory insurance scheme would be a great asset to the nation's economy.

(*d*) Reject foreign investment in favour of foreign loan.

(*e*) Unrestricted commerce with all countries of the world. Nigeria would be free to buy and sell where the prices are more favourable to her.

United States Aid

The United States Government has made an additional grant of assistance to Nigeria, amounting to £2.723 million. All but £356,000 of the grant will be from the United States International Co-operation Administration's Special Programme for Tropical Africa and will be used to help defray costs at the University of Nigeria at Nsukka and assist in teacher training, agricultural education, secondary schools and public administration at the local level. The remainder of the grant will be used for training assistance in industrial development and demonstration low-cost housing for low income families.

This grant is in addition to £818,000 recently approved for continued United States technical assistance in Nigeria, and to £38,000 for extension of a well-digging programme.

The United States Government has spent or given approval for an expenditure of £4.6 million on assistance to Nigeria in the current year. (*News from Nigeria*, February 25.)

A group of United States and Canadian medical specialists arrived at Aro on January 29 to begin a pilot study of mental and nervous disorders among Africans. The study is being pursued under the Cornell-Aro Scheme which is jointly sponsored by the West Nigerian Government and the Ford Foundation. The group will work with Dr. T. A. Lambo, the specialist in charge of Aro Hospital for Nervous Diseases, in research which will take several years. (*News from Nigeria*, February 1.)

Development, Aid and Projects

An Anglo-Nigerian Industrial Development Conference was held in Lagos between January 14 and January 28. Representatives of the Nigerian Federal and Regional Governments and the British Government and the Federation of British Industries (F.B.I.) attended. The F.B.I. delegation presented reports to the Nigerian Governments at the close of the conference, identifying particular developments which could now be recommended and considered for implementation. The F.B.I. offered Nigeria immediately five scholarships for practical training in the United Kingdom of engineering graduates of Nigerian colleges.

The Nigerian Federal Minister of Commerce and Industry, Zanna Bukar Dipcharima, told the group that "nationalization plays no part in our future". The Minister pointed out the sound foundations to Nigeria's economic development: the proposed Niger dam; an oil refinery and natural gas reserves as new sources of power; and a local oil seed processing industry thought of by the Nigerian Government.

During the group's two weeks in Nigeria, it spent two days in Lagos discussing investments with Ministers and then split into three teams, each allotted to the three regions of Nigeria. The groups toured the areas and then returned for a final session with the Nigerian Government. (*News from Nigeria*, January 28.)

When the F.B.I. delegation made its report on March 1, it announced that Leyland Motors proposed an assembly plant at Ikeja for the assembly and partial manufacture of Leyland, Albion and Scammell commercial vehicles. The plant will represent an initial investment of £300,000 and will employ up to 500 people. McCorquodale and Co., in conjunction with the Nigerian Government, proposed a printing works at Ibadan for books, especially text-books. Whessoe plans a mechanical workship at Port Harcourt involving an initial investment of about £125,000. Other projects put forward, or under consideration, are a £250,000 factory to make insulated electrical cables; a plant to make lead acid batteries; a brewery for the Western Region; and production of crepe rubber, sheet rubber and cosmetics. (*The Times*, March 2.)

The first resident representative of the United Nations Technical Assistance Board and the United Nations Special Fund, Mr. David M. Johnson, arrived in Lagos, on February 22, to take up his duties. (*News from Nigeria*, February 25.)

On February 1, fifteen African nations were admitted to membership in the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, which was beginning a ten-day conference at Lagos. (*News from Nigeria*, February 4.)

A delegation of experts in business administration from the provincial government of Hamburg, West Germany, began a study tour of Western Nigeria on March 1 to see if Hamburg experts can be sent to West African countries to assist in building up an effective administration. The delegation is also examining scientific or vocational training for which young people of West African countries can be encouraged to develop their abilities at the university level or in industrial enterprises. (*News from Western Nigeria*, March 1.)

West Nigeria Seeks to Preserve Chieftaincy

The Federal president of the Action Group and leader of the Opposition in the Federal Nigerian Parliament, Chief Obafemi Awolowo, has said that the preservation of the chieftancy institution in the Western Region of Nigeria is a fundamental objective of the Western Nigerian Government. He said this in a speech to a gathering of Regional ministers, legislators and chiefs on the occasion of the installation of a chief in Uromi, Ishan Division. (*News from Western Nigeria*, March 1.)

Education at Home and Overseas

The Government of Western Nigeria has decided to set up a new university at Ife, fifty-five miles east of Ibadan. The Government hopes to inaugurate the proposed university by October 1962, with at least 250 students and two faculties. Within ten years the university is hoped to expand to 3,000 students and nine faculties. (*News from Western Nigeria*, February 20.)

The Government is also re-orientating its teacher training programme to provide more trained teachers for the primary schools. The Western Region was the first area in Africa to introduce, in 1955, free universal primary education. Since that time, attendance at school has increased from 500,000 to 1,500,000. The number of teachers has increased from 6,842 to 16,000. A higher teacher training college has been established to train teachers to staff the secondary grammar schools, and teacher training colleges in the region. There are 26,000 untrained teachers in the region, whom it is planned to replace with trained personnel within the shortest possible time. (*News from Western Nigeria*, March 3.)

The Ambassadors of the Sudan and Japan were received by the Federal Minister of Education on February 21 to discuss their countries' offer of scholarships. Japan offered fifteen provisional awards in technological studies for the year 1961–2. The Sudanese Republic offered twenty-two scholarships for teacher training, post-secondary technical education, Islamic studies, and university education, tenable in the Sudan. (*News from Nigeria*, February 22.)

Four Nigerians will attend a six weeks' seminar on the "Role of Women in a Developing Society" which will be held in Israel on April 17. (*News from Nigeria*, February 22.)

Sierra Leone

Preparations for Independence

WHEN Sierra Leone becomes an independent African State on April 27 of this year, it has decided to become a member of the Commonwealth. The country brings certain assets with it: a spread of educational facilities and progress in Africanizing the Civil Service, but there are no cash crops on the scale of Ghana's cocoa and Northern Nigeria's groundnuts. The *Guardian* (February 14) said that the country must develop efficiently and in the public interest its substantial mineral resources. Efficiency there is; but the public interest has been largely neglected. British-owned mining companies have made huge profits for their shareholders and returned a pittance into the territory's revenue. In recent years illicit diamond miners have joined in the exploitation, even though four years ago licensed diamond mining by private individuals was made possible, and the monopoly originally granted to the company was restricted. Until both illicit mining and increasing smuggling in diamonds have been defeated by an increasingly hard-pressed police force, however, the lure of diamonds will be a triple threat to national well being—it will squander its wealth, attract away its essential agricultural labour force, and preoccupy, expensively, its police force.

No Nationalization of Industry

The Sierra Leone Government has issued a statement guaranteeing the rights of investors after Sierra Leone becomes independent within the Commonwealth on April 27. The Government has no intention of nationalizing any form of commercial, mining, or industrial undertaking. "If, however, unforeseen circumstances should lead to any change in this policy, the Government hereby acknowledges its obligation to pay fair compensation in every case of nationalization." In case of disagreement Sierra Leone undertakes to refer the case to arbitration by some mutually agreed international body. (*Daily Telegraph*, March 13.)

Togo

Electoral Law

THE Togo Parliament has passed a new electoral law based on a system of simple majority voting lists on a single ballot. A party must find candidates to contest all the constituencies before it can participate in the election. A deposit of £73 per candidate is required which is returnable if the candidate polls 20 per cent of the votes cast. The life of Parliament is reduced from six to five years. By-elections will only be held when thirteen seats have become vacant. Opposition members condemned the new law as "undemocratic", as it is virtually impossible for minority groups to get into Parliament.

PAN-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

P.A.F.M.E.C.A. Conference

FOLLOWING are extracts from resolutions adopted at the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa Conference of leaders which was held in Nairobi during January.

(1) The Conference expressed itself deeply concerned and disturbed by the continued detention by the Southern Rhodesia Government of Robert Chikerema, Nyandoro and others without trial. It strongly condemned the detentions, and urged the British Government to bring pressure to bear on Sir Edgar Whitehead to release these Nationalists forthwith.

(2) The leaders called on the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to meet the Kenya delegation then in London seeking release of Jomo Kenyatta and urged the immediate release of Kenyatta in the interest of stability and harmony in Kenya. The Conference said Kenyatta was the only person who could ensure unity.

(3) The Conference viewed with grave concern the existing brutal form of colonial imperialism in Angola and Mozambique suffered at the hands of Portugal, and refused to accept Portugal's claim that Angola and Mozambique were integral parts of Portugal. The Conference therefore called on all nationalist movements and the independent states to give material aid to the peoples of these territories to intensify their struggle for complete independence.

(4) The Conference unreservedly condemned the secession movement of the Buganda Lukiko and called upon that body to revoke their secession resolution and adopt a spirit of co-operation with the other people of Uganda. It called upon the Secretary of State for the Colonies to take a realistic view on the problems now created in Uganda under the Governorship of Sir Frederick Crawford by stopping conferences with tribal groups and entering discussions on a countrywide basis.

(5) The Conference condemned the Central African Federation, saying it should be dissolved immediately and African governments established in the three territories.

(6) The Conference having discussed the question of a Federation of Eastern Africa resolved:

(i) That a Federation of Eastern Africa is politically and economically essential now for the unity and social betterment of the peoples of these countries.

(ii) That such a Federation can only be designed and brought about by elected and African controlled governments in Eastern Africa.

(iii) That the elections which are scheduled to take place in Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar should be immediately followed by the establishment of such African-controlled governments headed by African Prime Ministers.

This Conference further recommended:

(iv) That immediately after the formation of the said governments the Prime Ministers should convene a summit conference to work out all the steps and the details necessary for the establishment of a truly African designed Federation.

(v) That the Prime Ministers or Chief Ministers and their Governments should take all the necessary steps to ensure that no reactionary or imperialist elements interfere with the designing of the Federation and all its governmental institutions and these are left to the African Nationalists themselves.

(vi) That the text of the document entitled "East African Federation (Freedom and Unity)" together with this resolution should be published by P.A.F.M.E.C.A.

The Conference further reiterated its unreserved condemnation of the present Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland and urged that it be broken up immediately so that each of those countries, freely and individually, may, through a popularly elected and African controlled Government choose its own future including the possibility of joining a larger Eastern and Central African Federation.

The *East African Standard* (January 13) commented on the East African Federation proposals. It stated: "So far there has been only guarded official support from London, though influential private and business interests are greatly in favour of the principle. With the lessons of the Central African Federation on his mind, the Colonial Secretary seems to be resolved that a federation next door can only be possible if it is born of the genuine desire of the African people. In other words, the initiative must come from East Africa, not London, and the P.A.F.M.E.C.A. Conference has provided a fine opportunity for making the wish known.

"From this point onwards, the active encouragement of Her Majesty's Government can be expected in promoting early federation, and it is a matter for subsequent decision as to whether the declaration should be translated into effect before the countries individually achieve independence, or be delayed until all have attained that stage. The former has the obvious advantage of preventing the High Commission structure from being dismantled, though there will have to be much modification. Even before the declaration, it was considered in London that if a spontaneous desire was notified from the African leaders, a Federation Conference could be assembled there—or better still in East Africa with Her Majesty's Government participation—possibly in October."

Mr. Tom Mboya, chairman of the Conference, in a Press statement at the end of the meeting said:

"It is necessary to understand that this conference is not the normal P.A.F.M.E.C.A. conference but a special conference of the top leaders of the organizations affiliated to P.A.F.M.E.C.A. . . . K.A.D.U. should have been represented by its leader—Mr. Ngala. In the absence of Mr. Gichuru Mr. Odinga represents K.A.N.U. I take part in P.A.F.M.E.C.A. not as K.A.N.U. representative but as its chairman, having been constitutionally elected at its last ordinary conference."

Mr. Mboya attacked K.A.D.U. for its refusal to send a representative and for their criticisms of Mr. Julius Nyerere, who they had said was dominating the deliberations of the Conference.

Mr. M. Muliro, deputy leader of K.A.D.U., said: "The P.A.F.M.E.C.A. conference was designed to promote P.A.F.M.E.C.A. leaders and not African unity."

Mr. Nyerere had committed himself in Kenya to Tom Mboya, "a man who is out for himself and who would do anything for his own self-glorification". The whole idea of P.A.F.M.E.C.A. was to boost K.A.N.U. at the forthcoming general election, but it was doomed to failure because it had committed itself to individuals instead of to the African struggle as a whole. K.A.D.U., he stressed, was fully committed to the idea of a federated East Africa, but it wanted it to come democratically and not through individuals. He added that K.A.D.U. was a paid up member of P.A.F.M.E.C.A. and should have been one of the joint hosts during the conference. (*Daily Nation*, January 13.)

GENERAL

The Stirring of Portuguese Africa

JAMES DUFFY (*Central African Examiner*, February 1961) forecasting trouble in Portuguese Africa mentioned the two important African organizations formed outside the borders of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea to work for their independence. They were the *Uniao das Populacaoes de Angola*, in Leopoldville, and the *Frente Revolucionaria para a Independencia Nacional das Colonias Portuguesas* in Conakry. These opposition groups have recently grown in size and importance. They publish pamphlets and occasional newspapers. They have representatives in the United Nations and in several world capitals. They have the support of free African governments and anti-colonial interests in other parts of the world. The leaders of the two groups have begun to speak of armed struggle and subversion in their fight for the independence of the Portuguese African world.

The decade 1950–60 has been the most successful period of economic development in the history of Portuguese Africa. In spite of slumps and fluctuations in the world market which at times affected the colonies' predominantly agricultural output adversely, the African provinces showed a considerable surplus in their balance of payments with foreign countries and made a decisive contribution to the currency stability of the escudo zone. This occurred during a period when the development projects for Angola and Mozambique brought an annual increase of from 7 to 9 per cent in manufactured imports, most of them from outside Portugal. At the same time expanding markets in Africa have provided a controlled market for Portuguese goods, notably wine, processed cotton, and foodstuffs.

Portuguese African products have become more diversified: coffee, tea, fish products, sisal, sugar, copra, rice and raw cotton now form a fairly firm base for the colonies' economy. Although, save for Angolian diamonds and petroleum, the mineral yield in Portuguese Africa has remained disappointing, the growth in such local industries as cement, soap, tobacco and beer has begun to make a marked contribution to the financial life of Angola and Mozambique.

But the expansion of trade, agriculture, and industry do not reveal the real advances in the development of the two colonies. The story is more dramatically told in the visible growth of the cities and towns, in port facilities, in colonization projects, in the transportation complex, in irrigation and in dams and hydro-electric projects. In comparison with what was done in the Congo and the Rhodesias during the same decade, the material

advance has not been extraordinary, but by Portuguese standards it has been miraculous and is today Portugal's greatest source of pride in her colonies. The expansion has mostly brought benefits to the White population of Portuguese Africa, who now number about 130,000 in Angola and perhaps 65,000 in Mozambique. The numbers increase each year as a result of continental Portugal's poverty, and overpopulation and of the régime's decision to encourage a steady immigration into Africa by Portuguese peasants and labourers.

In education, health services, housing, and colonization projects, the African lags far behind the White settler. The literacy rate for the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, for example, is somewhat higher than continental Portugal's 60 per cent; for the African it is somewhat less than 3 per cent. The education the African receives is rudimentary, and through a series of accidental or deliberate obstacles he is usually prevented from going beyond three years of schooling. Social services are everywhere inadequate and in many parts of the territories non-existent. The Government talks of promoting agricultural communities for Africans and has established several, but the preponderance of governmental support is for White colonization schemes.

And all of African life is still dominated by the spectre of an oppressive contract labour system. The development of the colonies rests on a constant supply of cheap African labour, and apparently only forced labour can meet the demand. The Portuguese defend the requirements that every male African be obliged to work productively six months out of every year by saying that Africans are led to civilization through the dignity of labour, but the disruptive effects of the system far more than counterbalance whatever theoretical benefits Africans may receive from it.

To meet the rising criticism from abroad of Portuguese practices in Africa and to convince the African population that it is better to be Portuguese than to be independent, Dr. Salazar's Government has embarked upon what seems to be a change in African policy. The rather amorphous design of this policy is to achieve the total assimilation of the African peoples into a community dominated by Portuguese cultural values. These values are chiefly faith, toil, and family, and what the Government has in mind is the transformation of African society into a semblance of Portuguese peasant society which is generally devout, diligent and politically conservative.

This pyschological integration is to be carried out through an expansion of missionary activity, education of African women and the creation of large agricultural community projects. The scheme is visionary and it can be seriously doubted that Portugal will have either the time or the resources to carry it through. In the meantime, Portugal maintains its present policy of selective assimilation in the hopes of creating an African *élite* deeply dedicated to the Portuguese cause.

Russia and Africa

Mr. Andrei Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R., in his report to the Supreme Soviet on December 23 said: "The successes of the national liberation movement of the African peoples have been especially striking in the most recent period. Seventeen African countries have become independent states in the course of this one year. . . .

"It goes without saying that the degree of real independence of these new states is far from being the same. Some of them boldly and decisively broke with the past, emphatically denounced the colonialists and their policy and are exerting vigorous efforts to develop their economy and their national culture. Others are still tied by many threads to the recent past, depend to a considerable extent on the former metropolitan countries economically, while politically the leaders of those states still look at many things through spectacles manufactured by the colonialists. Be this as it may, the Soviet Government is pleased to welcome all steps, be they the most modest at first, which lead the peoples of those countries to genuine independence, and is willing to render them the utmost assistance in this. . . .

"The Soviet Union seeks no privileges or special rights for itself either in Africa or in other areas of the world. It needs no military bases on African soil; nor does it covet the wealth of that continent as do the imperialist powers. This is precisely why the Soviet Government's policy meets with such understanding and such a response on the part of African countries and their leaders. This was particularly felt during the meetings and talks the head of the Soviet Government, Nikita Sergeyevitch Krushchev, had recently with statesmen of many African countries—the United Arab African countries—the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Algeria, and others—during the fifteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. . . .

"In comformity with its policy of strengthening peace and respecting the sovereignty of all states, the Soviet Government fully supports the proposal presented by President Nkrumah of Ghana at the . . . General Assembly to convert Africa into a zone free of nuclear-rocket weapons and tests of these weapons and also free of foreign military bases.

"It is high time that certain powers stopped regarding African territory as an area for the installation of military bases or nuclear testing grounds. And if the industrially developed European and American states must compete in something in Africa, let them compete in rendering assistance to the young countries of that continent in their economic and cultural development. Such competition will benefit all sides and, above all, the cause of peace.

"Great as the achievements of the national liberation movement of the peoples are in our time, life provides new proof every day that colonialism does not surrender its positions without a battle. The colonialists fiercely cling to the riches they have amassed through plunder and try to retain at any cost their positions in the countries they exploit. . . .

"The developments in the Congo have illuminated like a searchlight the unseemly role played by the United Nations apparatus headed by its Secretary-General. The actions of Hammarskjoeld and his representatives in the Congo are those of colonialists' accomplices. It is precisely because of the connivance and direct support of the representatives of the Secretary-General that the colonialists are again putting their feet on the table in the Congo. Is it possible to imagine even for a moment that the Belgians and Mobutu's cut-throats could have succeeded in establishing the reign of terror and lawlessness in the country had the so-called United Nations

forces—of which there are nearly 20,000—really fulfilled their duty in accordance with the Security Council's decision, that is, had they rendered assistance to the lawful Government of the country in maintaining order and ensuring the integrity of the State?

"Mr. Hammarskjoeld's representatives began by dropping curtsies before that traitor to the Congolese people Tshombe and depriving Prime Minister Lumumba, at whose request they had arrived in the country, of the possibility of using radio stations and airports in the Congo. They looked on indifferently when Mobutu's gang started a veritable war in Leopoldville against the representatives of a number of United Nations member countries—Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Yugoslavia, and others. And they ended by hypocritically turning away and thus virtually delivering the Congolese Premier into the hands of Mobutu's men."

Mr. Gromyko also attacked French policy in Algeria, where he said a war has been waged for the past seven years which France's N.A.T.O. allies have supported. (*Soviet News*, December 29.)

The Editor of the DIGEST *does not necessarily endorse the views of correspondents*

AFRICA BUREAU ACTIVITIES

THE Africa Councils Conference met at the William Temple College, Rugby, on March 11 and 12. Representatives from Councils were present and addresses were given by Mr. Dennis Phombeah and Mr. James Johnson on Pan-Africanism; by the Rev. Michael Scott on South Africa, the Commonwealth and the United Nations; and by Miss Mary Benson on the High Commission Territories. The chairman was Lord Hemingford. Reports on their activities were given by all Councils. One session was spent discussing books on Africa and the uses Councils might make of a library service, and films loaned by Contemporary Films, Ltd., were shown.

Prior to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference the Africa Bureau released its policy statement on South Africa. It also arranged a deputation to the Prime Minister of India to express the Bureau's view in favour of South Africa's leaving the Commonwealth. The Bureau also co-operated with the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the South African United Front in asking the High Commissioners of Commonwealth Governments to ensure that South Africa lose her Commonwealth membership or amend her racial policies.

The Rev. Michael Scott addressed a big rally in Toronto on South Africa and the Commonwealth. He met representatives of the Government and the Opposition, and university and Church leaders.

Mr. Scott is attending the All African Peoples' Conference in Cairo as the representative of the Africa Bureau.

Members of the Bureau Executive and Staff met Mr. Kenneth Kaunda and his colleagues who were in London for the Constitutional Conference. A Press statement on the Northern Rhodesian crisis was issued by the Bureau. It strongly criticized the attitude of Sir Roy Welensky on the Macleod proposals and supported majority government in Northern Rhodesia.

An all-star Variety Show is being organized in aid of the Africa Bureau, to be presented on June 2 at 11 p.m. at the Prince's Theatre, London. Like our appeal, the show is entitled "S.O.S. AFRICA!"

The chairman and the director of the Africa Bureau have joined a newly established management board of the Defence and Aid Fund. It is hoped in this way to co-ordinate the activities of the two organizations in the field of aid to those charged under unjust and discriminatory laws.

Just as the DIGEST had gone to press the news came of the acquittal of the twenty-eight people standing trial for treason in South Africa. This is very good news. It means not only a great deal to the individuals concerned and their families, but also it indicates the continuing independence of the High Courts of South Africa, despite strong political pressures.

THE AFRICA BUREAU

65 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1 (Tate Gallery 0701)

Honorary Presidents: Sir Maurice Bowra, Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, The Rev. T. Corbishley, S.J., Mr. James Crawford, The Rev. Trevor Huddleston, C.R., Professor Arthur Lewis, The Very Rev. Dr. George Macleod, The Rev. Prof. C. E. Raven, The Rt. Rev. A. Reeves, The Rt. Rev. J. L. Wilson, Professor Roger Wilson.

Executive Committee: Lord Hemingford (CHAIRMAN), Lady Pakenham, Miss Mary Benson, Mr. Peter Calvocoressi, Sir Jock Campbell, The Right Hon. A. Creech-Jones, M.P., Mrs. J. Grimond, Dr. Rita Hinden, Mr. Peter Parker (HON. TREASURER), The Rev. Michael Scott (DIRECTOR). SECRETARY: Miss Jane Symonds.

Printed in Great Britain by Mackays of Chatham

